

THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF THE

AMERICAN BOARD

OF

Transportation and Commerce,

HELD AT THE

GRAND PACIFIC HOTEL,

DECEMBER 15th, 16th, 17th, 1875.

CHICAGO:

EVENING JOURNAL, BOOK AND JOB PRINTING HOUSE, 159 AND 161 DEARBORN ST.
1876.

THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF THE

AMERICAN BOARD

OF

Transportation and Commerce,

HELD AT THE

GRAND PACIFIC HOTEL,

DECEMBER 15th, 16th, 17th, 1875.

CHICAGO:

EVENING JOURNAL, BOOK AND JOB PRINTING HOUSE, 159 AND 161 DEARBORN ST.

1876.

With these proceedings, my official connection with the Association closes; but I trust I shall ever be found upon the right side of the cause of humanity, fighting against corporate oppression in whatever shape and wherever found. Our Proceedings are necessarily brief, but I hope our next meeting will see us prepared to present a full and more complete report than this one. After adjournment at Chicago, the Executive Committee decided to have the Proceedings printed in Chicago under the supervision of Mr. FRANK GILBERT, the new Secretary. This has been done; and, so far as possible, I have corrected part of the proofs, but not having my notes, have had to do it entirely from memory. One paper presented has not been noticed except briefly, owing to what was claimed to be some misstatements it contained. This was omitted by direction of a part of the Executive Committee, and with my protest, as I considered it entitled to as full a synopsis as it was possible to give it.

R. H. FERGUSON,
SECRETARY, 1875.

The document referred to, as omitted, was brought to the attention of the Executive Committee, all the members being present except one. The omission was recommended by the President, and no protest was made until the report was in type. This Third Annual Report being somewhat briefer than its two predecessors, a much larger edition will be struck off. It is believed that the facts and suggestions embodied in this pamphlet are of very great value, and that their general dissemination among those who have to do with the problem of cheap transportation can not fail to aid materially in its right solution. Copies will be sent to legislators, State and National, and to the leading journals of the country, as well as to the Delegates who attended the Convention and left their addresses. Any member failing to receive a copy of the report, will be promptly supplied on sending his address to

FRANK GILBERT,
161 Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

— OF THE —

American Board of Transportation and Commerce,

HELD AT THE

GRAND PACIFIC HOTEL,

December 15, 16, 17, 1875.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The Convention was called to order at 11 A. M., Wednesday, by JOHN F. HENRY, Esq., of New York, First Vice-President of the Association, in the following words:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF TRANSPORTATION AND COMMERCE:—It becomes my duty now to call you to order. I hold in my hand, a letter from the Honorable Josiah Quincy, received this morning, which I will read:

BOSTON, December 11, 1875.

JOHN F. HENRY, Esq.,

Vice-President of the American Board of Transportation and Commerce.

MY DEAR SIR:—Will you do me the favor, to express to the Convention my great regret, that my age, my engagements and the great unwillingness of my friends that I should expose myself to the uncertainties of a winter journey, must prevent my attending the meeting of the Board. It would have given me the greatest pleasure to have met and co-operated with so many distinguished men from all sections, in deliberating on one of the most important questions now before our nation. Please express to them my thanks for the honor they have conferred upon me, and my regret that my age must prevent my again being the Candidate for their suffrages.

I am truly and respectfully,

JOSIAH QUINCY.

Gentlemen, I now have the honor of introducing to you a distinguished citizen of Chicago, Hon. S. S. HAYES, who will welcome you in behalf of the great City and State, and to whom you will now have the pleasure of listening.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION :—It has become my pleasant duty, on behalf of the citizens of Chicago, to bid you welcome, and to offer you the hospitalities of the city.

You have assembled here from the different States of the Union by appointment of the Governors of the States and various organized bodies of citizens, to consult together and take some action upon subjects of transcendent importance.

I find among you many gentlemen of distinguished abilities, of great experience in business affairs and of national reputation. The whole country will look with interest to your deliberations. They will expect, if not a complete solution of the questions which you have met to consider, at least many valuable suggestions, perhaps a plan for future action, looking both to private enterprise, lawful combinations for mutual protection, and to legislation by the different States and by Congress.

It would not be proper for me upon this occasion to enlarge upon these subjects, or to enter into any of their details.

I may say briefly, however, that the transportation of commodities from the place of production to the place of consumption, with the kindred question of the medium of exchange, embrace almost everything of a material character affecting the welfare and prosperity of our country.

It may be assumed that production will go on, if producers are allowed access to their proper markets, free from unjust exactions, and oppressive combinations, and if the value of their property is secured against arbitrary and unwise changes in the value of the medium of exchange.

Among the dangers of modern civilization is the vast consolidation of power in the hands of great corporations, and the artificial system of finance, by which the volume and value of the currency are subject to the control of Legislative bodies and of the influences by which they may, from time to time, be governed.

These dangers are unavoidable. The great inventions of recent times for economizing labor, and facilitating the operations of commerce, cannot be abandoned. We will never return to turnpike roads and flat boats, or to a currency of tobacco, of wheat, or of metals exclusively.

Our railroads, telegraphs and banks, are the creations of capital, of capital combined and made secure by laws of incorporation. These corporations, powerful as they are, dangerous even to the highest degree when their powers are abused, are entitled to justice. The problem of the day is not confiscation of the property of corporations by the people, or of that of the people by corporations, but how to avoid both, how to protect all interests, how to secure all from abuses of power on either side, how to obtain untrammelled freedom for the laws of production and exchange, of demand and supply.

It is not the purpose of this Convention, representing the producing and commercial people of this country, to oppress or injure any of these great corporations. It is their purpose themselves to resist oppression and injury; to break down monopoly; to secure by fair means free and cheap access to internal and foreign markets.

This is not a time when the trade and business of the country can bear any new burdens. Our people, for a year past, have been kept in a state of apprehension of a great future calamity, the total destruction of our present financial system by the forced withdrawal of the greater part of our currency, amounting, in all to nearly eight hundred millions. I trust you will pardon me for saying that the Government, in my opinion,

has no moral right to withdraw this currency, or to contract it to any serious extent, until the indebtedness created under the present laws has been paid. I believe such a measure to be unnecessary and ruinous. I believe the apprehension of it is now costing our people more than the amount of the national debt every year. I believe our financial situation is otherwise not at all embarrassing, and that the remedy for the depreciation of the currency is perfectly simple, and within reach, and, if resorted to at once, it will restore confidence and prosperity everywhere. That remedy is to leave the legal tender and banking laws as they are, to redeem the Government notes in long-gold bonds, as proposed by President Grant, but in bonds that will be worth par in coin, and to re-issue the Government notes in the purchase of bonds bearing a higher rate of interest, until our entire debt is funded. We will thus come at once to a specie basis, and settle our finances upon a solid and enduring foundation, without danger or injury, but with the promise of immediate and lasting prosperity.

The importance of this subject will, I hope, be a sufficient excuse for this digression.

Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention, the people of Chicago are under the deepest obligations to those whom you represent. Only four years ago our city was laid in ashes. Two hundred million dollars' worth of property was destroyed in a day. The universal sympathy and aid which we received from all parts of the United States and from other countries can never be forgotten by us, or by our children, or our children's children. We are bound to you all by the ties of gratitude, which only become stronger with the lapse of time.

We receive you to-day with pleasure, and while you remain among us, we will endeavor to show how highly we appreciate your presence, and how gladly we extend to you a sincere and cordial welcome.

This address was listened to with close attention. The Chair responded in behalf of the Convention in the following appropriate remarks:

I thank the gentlemen from Chicago, and from Illinois, on behalf of the Convention, and feel assured that we will endeavor to do our duty in the future, as we have striven to do it in the past. We meet here, gentlemen, in answer to the summons of the American Board of Transportation and Commerce to consult together upon what is popularly known as the transportation problem. The immense importance of the question, and the complexity of interest that will be affected by its discussion may well inspire us with modesty and caution; but when we reflect that the people of the United States now pay seven or eight hundred millions of dollars each year for internal transportation, and a quarter of a century hence, if the past rate of increase is continued, the aggregate amount will have increased to \$2,000,000,000, we cannot but be impressed with the magnitude of the subject, and the necessity of having such an enormous distributing machinery so regulated that it will bear equitably upon all classes in the community. It is the defects and inequalities in the present system which are the cause of bringing us together to-day. Highways were formerly constructed and owned by the people through the machinery of Government, but with the advent of steam came a change in this service. Corporations were created to perform the duties which heretofore, in a slightly different form, had devolved upon governments, and the evils under which we are now suffering are the result of conferring powers without proper restrictions and safeguards.

The nature of a railroad is such that it may easily become a monopoly, not subject to the same rules which control and regulate other kinds of business. Competition cannot readily be obtained in great organizations, and when combinations and consolidations are permitted, as they have

been in this country, it is rendered almost impossible, except through the machinery of Government, either by direct construction and ownership, or by issuing its own bonds or guaranteeing the bonds of a private corporation and assuming, in consideration thereof, a proper supervision and control. When our iron highways were first introduced, if some far-seeing man had asserted that they should be wholly or in part constructed, managed, or controlled by the State, he might have been thought as unpracticable as one who should now ask the Government to provide us with clothing and provision; but the developments of the last twenty-five years have shown that new laws for the regulation of our highways are an absolute necessity. No doubt there is a wide-spread feeling among the people of the United States against concentrating more power in the hands of governments than is absolutely necessary, but it is equally certain that this feeling is carefully fostered and magnified by all who are interested in taxing the people to perpetuate the defects of our present transportation system. We have experienced the certain and ever-increasing evils of the private management of public highways, and are now seeking for relief from a centralization of power in the hands of a few individuals, who act in concert for personal and corporate aggrandizement.

In the report of the United States Senate Committee on transportation routes we find the following: "In the matter of taxation there are to-day four men representing the four great trunk lines between Chicago and New York, who possess, and who not unfrequently exercise powers which the Congress of the United States would not venture to exert. With the rapid and inevitable progress of combination and consolidation these colossal organizations are daily becoming stronger and more imperious. The day is not distant, if it has not already arrived, when it will be the duty of the statesman to inquire, whether there is less danger in leaving the property and industrial interests of the people, thus wholly at the mercy of a few men, who recognize no responsibility but to their stockholders and no principle of action but personal and corporate aggrandizement, than in adding somewhat to the power and patronage of a Government directly responsible to the people and entirely under their control."

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of this problem. The future of the nation is largely dependent upon its right solution. It is not alone for the present we must lay our plans, for the future development of this country will undoubtedly equal, if not exceed, the past. I firmly believe that the united will of the people, inspired with justice and executed with moderation, will find a solution of this great problem, which, without injuring those who have honestly invested their capital in the present transportation system, will insure for the future relief from evils under which our country is suffering. May your deliberations, gentlemen, do something toward hastening this much-to-be-desired consummation.

These addresses were listened to with close attention and cordially applauded.

On motion of Mr. UTLEY, of Illinois, a Committee of five was named by the Chair on Credentials, namely: B. R. Hampton, of Illinois; G. G. Benedict, of Vermont; C. Watrous, of New York; J. H. Osborne, of Wisconsin, and J. N. Harris, of Kentucky.

The Convention then took a recess of fifteen minutes. On re-assembling, the ordinary Parliamentary rules were adopted for the government of the Convention.

Mr. CLAFLIN, of Illinois, moved that a Committee of three be appointed by the Chair, who should arrange a programme for each day.

This was objected to, and voted down as savoring too much of the Star Chamber mode of procedure.

Mr. THURBER stated that in the two former Conventions of this body, the Executive Committee was simply composed of the officers, who shaped the order of business, and it worked all right, although that might not be acceptable to this Convention.

The Chair explained that one year ago four or five leading Committees were appointed, one on Railroads, one on Terminal Facilities, one on Natural Water Ways, one on Artificial Water Ways; each Committee composed of five gentlemen, posted in their several lines. These gentlemen will report, and if we follow the custom of two years ago in Washington and one year ago in Richmond, we shall appoint these Standing Committees after we get nearly through the business of the Convention, for the ensuing year. We also shall have a report, I presume, from our Treasurer, and from the Secretary, and I think there may be two or three Special Committees. These reports, together with the information we hope to get from the members of the Convention, will occupy our full time. Therefore, I do not see as we need prescribe at this moment any special order of business, certainly not until organized as a Convention, and know who the members are.

The Convention concurred in this view. It was agreed, on motion, that the sessions of the Convention should be opened with prayer by a clergyman.

The report of the Secretary, R. H. FERGUSON, of Troy, New York, was then called for, submitted, and adopted. It reads as follows:

Mr. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:—The question of cheap transportation now demands the attention of all our agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing interests, North and South, East and West. The people are awakened to its important bearing—to the great mutuality of interests which it controls. The statesman of to-day and the future cannot claim his laurels until he has fully investigated this question, so important to our individual and national prosperity. The value of one cent. per bushel may oftentimes determine whether corn shall be transported or burned, and also decide the employment of all those who might be engaged in producing it, of others who would transport it, and others who might traffic in it, and also those who were to consume it. Republican Governments are instituted to protect the people who form them from outside enemies and inside sharks, in the shape of corporate monopolies. Then that Government or people who secures for its subjects the best and cheapest routes of transportation (be they water or rail), so regulated and controlled that they shall always be managed for the public interest instead of corporate power and personal wealth, that Government is binding its people together with the bands of prosperity, which shall prove a coat of mail to all outside foes, and the bond of mutual good feeling and brotherly love to all of its citizens. This

continent of ours, which rises like a wall between two vast oceans (whose combined waters wash every nation of the globe) is, so to speak, the great highway athwart which nearly all the commerce of the world may be induced to come, if we, with intelligent statesmanship, only prepare suitable routes for it. Is not this subject of the first importance to us as individuals and as a nation?

Let us have no North, no South, no East or West in our deliberations. But casting aside all sectional jealousies and local selfishness, let us consider our needs as a mighty nation, preparing great avenues of transportation for an inland commerce of gigantic proportions, and a foreign trade that shall include all the nations of the world as our patrons. For the benefit of those who have never met with us before, I will briefly review what has been done during the past three years. In the fall of 1872 and the winter of 1873, the question of forming an association of producers and consumers (for the purpose of combining to protect the people from the terrible extortions of the railroad corporation), was agitated in the East and West. After considerable correspondence it was decided to call a meeting on the 6th of May, 1873, at the Astor House, in New York City. At that meeting "The American Cheap Transportation Association" was duly organized. Its objects were briefly stated in Article 2 of the Constitution, as follows: "Its object shall be to secure the transportation of persons and property at cheap, fixed, and, so far as possible, uniform rates between all parts of the Union and adjacent countries. Its members shall consist of persons favoring the purposes for which it is formed, whose names may be forwarded to and approved by the association or national council. When that meeting adjourned, it did so to meet in Washington, D. C., the following January. Following this meeting in September, the New York Cheap Transportation Association was formed, which is now a chartered institution, having a membership of upwards of a thousand of the best merchants of New York. At the Washington meeting in January, 1874, a large delegation was present. Some very able and valuable essays were delivered at this meeting, and its conclusions and recommendations were laid before the United States Senate Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard," who very kindly held an evening session to accommodate for us, and who done us the honor subsequently to report favorably upon the larger portion of our recommendations.

At our second annual meeting, held at Richmond, these routes were again indorsed.

On April 5, 1875, the first train, consisting of twenty-two cars of grain, passed through the Hoosac Tunnel, thus opening a new competing route to Boston from the West for the five months of December, January, February March and April. In 1868, fourth-class freight averaged from Chicago to New York, \$14.80 per ton; 1869, \$10.40 per ton; in 1870, \$11.20; in 1871, \$11; in 1872, \$9.40. From 1872 until the present year they have varied somewhat, gradually declining so that the past year we have had the lowest

rail rates ever known in this country on standard gauge roads. They have been as low as \$4 per ton from Chicago to Troy, N. Y., on fourth-class freight. The same rate was obtained from Peoria, Ill. While from Toledo, Ohio, grain was carried for \$3.60 per ton to Troy and New York, and to Boston, via Tunnel, for \$5 per ton. And the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad carried grain from Buffalo to Troy at \$2.40 per ton, 6 7-10 cents per bushel of fifty-six pounds. The cause of these low rates may be partially attributed to the strong competition and rivalry between the different trunk lines. Also to the moral effect produced by the friends of cheap transportation, and the efforts of our association to awaken the people to a proper appreciation and understanding of the question. Since July last, the principal trunk lines have advanced rates 125 per cent., that is, rates that were \$4 per ton, in July, from Peoria, are now \$9 from that place to the same points. This is equal to 14 cents per bushel on grain of fifty-six pounds to the bushel. The grain crop, according to the Agricultural Report of 1872, was, in round numbers 1,700,000,000 bushels. Ten cents per bushel on this would equal \$170,000,000, and fourteen cents on the same amount equals \$238,000,000. Four or five men connected with the different trunk lines met in New York City, at one of the prominent hotels, some time in October, and agreed together that they would advance rates, and from that time up to the present they have advanced 125 per cent., or 14 cents per bushel, on corn, and 15 cents per bushel on wheat, to say nothing about other freights or the amount of tribute thus levied upon the industrial and commercial classes. The question for this Convention, for our people and Government to consider, is: Whether the power to levy such enormous tributes, to so disarrange all industrial and commercial transactions, as the four or five men who manage our present trunk lines now are capable of doing, and have actually done since July—whether this exercise of arbitrary power is not prejudicial to all interests, and of such a nature as should command the exercise of our best Legislative ability in seeking the control, and to a large extent the supervision of our transportation routes. In cities like Chicago, Boston, New York, and all others where large transportation routes centre, the formation of “Boards of Transportation and Commerce” (like our New York “Cheap Transportation Association,”) before which can be brought all differences and grievances between transportation companies and the merchants and people, will be found highly beneficial. And in closing, I should urgently suggest that the merchants and business men in those and other sections form such associations, for, like the fable of the bundle of sticks—which unitedly could not be broken—taken singly they were good for nothing. Just so the merchants and people must combine for the protection against the present powerful corporations. When a single merchant asks for justice he is not noticed; but when *you are* organized, then it is *the merchants of Chicago* that speak, and their voice is heeded, and they can then accomplish something.

Trusting the foregoing report may meet your approval, it is most respectfully submitted.

An invitation was then read from the Secretary of the Chicago Board of Trade, inviting that body to visit its hall. The invitation was accepted, and at the suggestion of Col. BRIDGES, of Illinois, it was agreed to accept the invitation as a body at 12 o'clock the next day. The Convention then adjourned until two o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Chairman announced that the first business in order was the report of the Committee on Credentials.

Governor BROSS, of Illinois—I was going to ask the liberty of the Convention and yourself, to present a paper here, from a very distinguished gentleman now in the assembly, and move it be referred to the Committee on Business, in order that we may have something to do. This paper is on the general subject of transportation, by RICHARD P. MORGAN, a gentleman who, with Captain SWIFT, was engaged in building the pioneer railway of America, the Boston and Western Railroad, and was largely the originator of the Hudson River Railroad, and who commenced the Chicago and Galena Railroad. He is now eighty-four years old. I think the Committee will find it an excellent paper, and move to refer it to the Committee after the Committee is organized. He is eighty-four years of age, but in the full vigor of mental faculties.

On motion RICHARD P. MORGAN, JR., was requested to read the paper.

It was listened to with great interest, and a vote of thanks was tendered for it. Among other things this document presented the following facts and suggestions:

Actual experience in transportation for long periods, and generally under strong competition, demonstrates with a high degree of accuracy the following facts, from which deductions can be safely made. The average rates for all distances charged by the great lines of transportation in this country are:

- By ocean, two mills per ton per mile.
- By lake, three mills per ton per mile.
- By river, five mills per ton per mile.
- By canal, ten mills per ton per mile.
- By rail, sixteen mills per ton per mile.

For through business, the distance varying from 500 to 3,000 miles, the rates charged average:

- By ocean, one five-tenth mills per ton per mile.
- By lake, two five-tenth mills per ton per mile.
- By river, three mills per ton per mile.
- By canal, seven mills per ton per mile.
- By rail, ten mills per ton per mile.

All of the elements of the cost of transportation; the irregularities of traffic on the different lines; the fluctuation of the prices of the markets, home and foreign; the changing conditions of the country, and of its finance and commerce, are embodied in the foregoing schedules of average rates.

The expression that railroads are yet in their infancy is hardly too strong. The time will come when the locomotive of the present day will be looked back upon as a clumsy, wasteful machine, constructed in violation of the fundamental principles of mechanics. Machines will be substituted by which, instead of wasting half the heating power of the fuel, combustion shall be far more perfect, and the full action of the steam utilized. And it may be safely predicted that this great propelling machine shall glide smoothly along, near the surface of the rails, passing with facility and safety around the sharpest curves. The same principles will attend all other rolling-stock. Instead of constantly deranging the track by its impulsive vibrations, crushing and abraising the rails, colliding at the joints, and receiving corresponding damages by re-action, trains will rival the steamboat in the smoothness of their motion.

Independently, however, of these mechanical improvements, which, with the vast traffic to be anticipated on the great trunk lines from the west to the eastern cities, a double-track railroad, free from unnecessary financial incumbrances, employed exclusively for the transportation of freight moved at velocities never exceeding ten miles per hour, could not fail to acquire the ability to reduce charges far below the lowest existing rates.

Mr. MORGAN indicated some of the reasons why the commerce of New York City was declining, and why other distributing points are obtaining commerce which under equal advantages would remain with New York. He said that it was evident we must seek for the necessary relief to the public mainly in two directions: First, in eliminating the excessive nominal cost of railroads, so that charges for transportation may be reduced to such rates as will pay reasonably on the capital invested, and second, in such improvements in their construction and operation as will reduce these to their lowest point.

In speaking of the capacity of railroads for freight purposes, Mr. MORGAN says:

"Railroads constructed and managed under the prevailing system, although laboring under serious mechanical defects and paralyzed by the influence of unprincipled men who control the corporations operating them, have been, nevertheless, gaining upon all other modes of transportation to an extent not generally realized; but their present capacity is far below the standard to which the progress made in the arts and sciences of the Nineteenth century should have brought them. Ways of iron and steel, with the aid of steam power, possess a wonderful intrinsic value from which may be evoked mechanical effects unequaled by any device that civilized man has yet made available for the purposes of transportation."

The Chair then called for the report of the Committee on Credentials, which was submitted by Mr. BENEDICT, as follows:

The Committee on Credentials respectfully report the following

LIST OF DELEGATES.

NEW YORK.

Delegates from the New York Chamber of Commerce:

John F. Henry, Francis B. Thurber, Eugene R. Durkee, Charles Watrous, James S. Barron.

From the New York Cheap Transportation Association :

George S. Merwin, A. B. Miller, John H. Kemp, T. F. Lees, B. P. Baker, George Brown, H. K. Miller ; — Wallace, R. H. Ferguson, Troy, N. Y.

NEW JERSEY.

Jno. Jameson.

New Jersey Sovereigns of Industry, State Council :

L. C. Reeves, President.

KENTUCKY.

On the part of the State of Kentucky :

J. F. Bullitt, J. Nelson Harris, G. W. Smith, R. H. Woolfalk, W. H. Payne, Richard H. Stauton, J. R. Hallam, C. D. Foote, Joseph Davison, L. S. Trimble, Albert G. Rhea, Isaac G. Forbes.

From the Manufacturers' and Mechanics' Exchange :

Benj. F. Avery, H. Burckhardt, Rudolph Finzer, William Cornwall, W. D. Fitch.

WISCONSIN.

On the part of the State :

John Nader, S. D. Carpenter, J. H. Osborn, N. M. Edwards, Charles Stoppenbach.

IOWA.

On the part of the State of Iowa :

Joseph K. Hornish, Julius K. Graves, Milo Smith, John M. Day, Elias H. Williams, G. W. Johnston, James C. Trace, Robert Smyth, E. C. Chapin, Edward M. Bill, James S. Hurley, A. B. Smedley, J. B. Cummings, Peter Melendy, Edward Russell.

From the Board of Trade of Davenport :

George Parker, J. W. Green.

From the Citizens' Association of Muscatine :

S. G. Stein, W. W. Webster, John Mahin.

MINNESOTA.

On the part of the State of Minnesota :

C. C. Sturtevant.

From the Board of Trade of Minneapolis :

C. A. Pillsbury, J. A. Christian, M. M. Fuller, E. R. Barbour, C. M. Loring, W. P. Ankeny.

From the Chamber of Commerce of St. Paul :

D. Blakely, W. M. Tileston, W. L. Wilson.

NEBRASKA.

On the part of the State :

F. C. Morgan, S. R. Johnson, Amasa Cobb.

INDIANA.

On the part of the State :

Jasper Davidson, Henry S. Cauthorn, Felix Lewis, L. C. Law, O. P. Cobb, Isaac Odell, Thomas Kingan, Claude Matthews, Joseph Poole, Clem Studebaker, Isaac B. Hymer, I. D. G. Nelson, J. K. Beardsley.

From the Huntington County Agricultural Society :

Joseph W. Purviance, Cyrus H. Briant, George I. Bippus, L. P. Milligan, Robert Simonton.

MISSOURI.

On the part of the State:

M. McElhany, John I. Martin, Joseph Brown, D. P. Rowland, E. O. Stannard, George Bain, R. L. McDonald, John McGregor, T. R. Allen, B. R. Henry, A. W. Lamb, Jas. H. Nane, M. V. L. McLellan, R. G. Barrow, R. Q. Roach.

MISSISSIPPI.

On the part of the State:

W. L. Hemingway, J. M. Stone, R. H. Allen, J. W. Sharp, J. L. Griggs, Dr. McLeod, A. Smith, E. Richardson, John W. Robinson, J. L. Helron, C. M. Kane, A. H. Arthur, R. C. Lindsey, J. A. Hoskins, Emmet Ross, J. C. Lucas, E. G. Wall, Victor W. Thompson, J. W. Faut, Wm. Crump, J. T. Buck, D. L. Phares, W. W. Voight, A. S. Gains, Dr. Vaiden.

FLORIDA.

On the part of the State:

S. L. Niblack, Chandler Smith, T. P. Bishop.

KANSAS.

On the part of the State:

Charles Robinson, P. B. Plumb, Thomas Murphy.

OREGON.

From the Board of Trade of Portland:

H. J. Chapman.

VIRGINIA.

On the part of the State:

Thomas T. Munford, Edward Daniels, Col. Henry E. Peyton.

VERMONT.

From the City of Burlington:

F. C. Kennedy, W. W. Henry, L. C. Dodge, G. H. Bigelow, G. G. Benedict.

OHIO.

From the Ohio Wool Growers' Association:

L. T. Hunt.

From the City of Toledo:

W. J. Wells, G. W. Reynolds, O. E. M. Howard.

ILLINOIS.

On the part of the State:

R. P. Derrickson, John Dougherty, L. R. Warner, T. J. Carter, G. J. Been, Daniel Gold, George Hunter, Emery Slate, M. D. Massie, George S. Park, E. H. Nevitt, William Bross, John T. McGinnis, Robert A. Talbot, M. K. Avery, James S. Taggart, George Dunlap, L. M. Haverstick, A. H. South, George V. Dietrich, W. W. Warner, J. Y. Scammon, R. Prindville, Charles G. Wicker, B. R. Hampton, Alexander McLean, John M. Pierson, D. A. Brown, James Steele, Joseph Utley, M. B. Lloyd, M. S. Haydon, Wait Talcott, Samuel Douglas, J. S. Smyth, H. W. Austin, G. W. Parker, L. G. Wilcox, I. N. Arnold, Frank Gilbert, G. W. Armstrong, W. L. Wiley, J. A. McDowell, W. L. Brooks, I. P. Rogers, Thomas Hedges, William Hanna, James K. McGee, F. E. Chandler, Thomas P. Rogers, Duncan McKay, William C. Burleigh, Lyman Bridges, George Schneider, D. Valentine, J. Rice, John Gordon, Frederick Bross, J. M. Ruggles, B. L. Wooley, D. J. Stewart, J. M. Allen, H. S. Osborn, Mathew Dick, Samuel Dysart, John Penfield, Louis Ellsworth, D. Wilcox, Amos Savage, William E. Phelps, Wilson Buchanan, Franklin Corwin, Charles H. Saylett, S.

P. Cummings, William Gilmore, William Lindsley, A. B. Barrett, Rodney Welch, W. B. Strong, William H. Ray, David McIntosh, H. S. Townsend, C. E. Taylor, L. H. Goodrich, Nathaniel Moore, G. W. Scripps, T. McWhorter, W. A. Jones, W. N. Brainerd, C. P. Kellogg, J. W. Preston, James Coy, George P. Jacobs, J. W. Eddy, John Allison, John Wentworth, N. H. Warner, D. W. Danley, John Buhler, Richard Michaelis, J. A. Noonan, S. A. Epperson, G. C. Wilson, A. M. McCrae, J. R. Mulvand, James F. Watkins, Osman Pixley, D. Clark, W. E. Doggett, S. H. Burley, J. A. Hayward, John Cassidy, Peter Scott, S. S. Hays, Richard P. Morgan, Jr., W. H. Stewart, James Pollock, D. C. Pierce, N. B. Judd, Robert Warren, H. L. Bories, Lewis Stewart, M. B. Floyd, C. A. Whitney, James F. Thornton, D. Hitchcock, H. F. Irwin.

From the Chicago, Millington & Western Railway Company:

E. R. Saterlee, W. H. Pettibone, J. R. Zearing.

From the Farmers' State Association:

Lewis Ellsworth, H. D. Emery, C. C. Parks, J. M. Curry, C. C. Buell, J. M. Allen, Charles Seward, W. H. Grinnell, C. A. Hinkley, H. C. Lawrence, E. A. Geller, J. B. Turner, S. M. Thorp, A. P. Caffeen, H. W. Ruicher, M. M. Hooton, David Gere, T. A. E. Holcombe, A. M. Sturman, M. B. Lloyd, S. M. Smith.

From the Chicago & South Atlantic Railway Company:

Robert Rae.

MISCELLANEOUS.

From the National Council of Sovereigns of Industry:

William Orledge, S. J. Avery, A. T. Elliott.

From the Board of Harbor Commissioners of Montreal, P. Q.:

Hon. John Young, A. Bernard, Thomas Cramp.

Convention of the Millers of the Northwest:

F. C. Fillsbury, W. G. Teller, C. M. Loring, W. P. Ankeny, J. C. Berry, Leonard Day, M. B. Rollins, B. S. Bulls, George W. Crocker, C. T. Hobart, C. G. Hazzard, F. B. Mills, G. Shober, H. Darrow, J. M. Robinson, J. A. Christian, and D. R. Barber, all of Minneapolis; E. V. White, Medford, Minn.; H. E. Mellon, Rochester, Minn.; William Bowman, Waterloo, Wis., R. H. Strong, Baraboo, Wis.; Welcan Davis, Gatesville, Wis.; Miles Hollister, Faribault, Minn.; E. Kimball, Forrest City, Minn.; E. H. Reidell, Owatonna, Minn.; W. L. Tusler, Faribault, Minn.; H. Miller, Minnesota City, Minn.; Charles H. Whipple, Faribault, Minn.; John T. Ames, Northfield, Minn.; E. T. Archibald, Dundas, Minn.; James Thompson, Lanesboro, Minn.; Richard Gregg, Cannon Falls, Minn.; A. D. Andrews, Milwaukee; E. C. Durant, Milwaukee; S. J. Sleever, Mitchell, Iowa; Theo. Conly, Appleton, Wis.; H. S. Osborne, Quincy, Ill.; Nathan Dirk, Quincy, J. Stuart, Milwaukee; L. F. Babcock, Minnesota City; C. Marigold, Milwaukee; J. S. Hart, Racine; Ed. Murphy, Cannon Falls, Minn.; Christian Burkhardt, of Bouchea, Wis.; F. H. Allen, Rochester, Minn.; and John B. A. Keen, Milwaukee.

Representing seventeen States, nineteen cities, one Association, and other organizations.

B. R. HAMPTON, Illinois.
CHARLES WATROUS, New York.
J. NELSON HARRIS, Kentucky.
J. H. OSBORN, Wisconsin.
G. G. BENEDICT, Vermont.

Committee on Credentials.

The Chair stated that this Committee would hold over, and all corrections and additions would be made by them. On motion of GOVERNOR BROSS, the report of the Committee on Credentials was adopted, and the gentlemen reported by them were accepted as members, was adopted. It was agreed that if desired in any case, the Convention would vote by States, and each State be entitled to cast the number of votes to which it is entitled in the Electoral College, and no more.

Mr. THURBER, of New York—In order to facilitate the business of this Convention, I desire to state that we have found in former Conventions that it was necessary to have a Committee on Resolutions, which should harmonize and give voice to the opinions presented. Heretofore, sir, this Committee has been composed of one delegate from each State, and I would now move that a like Committee be appointed, to whom shall be referred resolutions and reports, in the pleasure of the Convention, and whose duty it shall be to harmonize the views that are expressed and presented to this Convention, as the expression of opinion for the Convention to endorse. The motion was seconded. Mr. UTLEY, of Illinois, suggested to his friend from New York, that he could include in that motion that the Committee on Resolutions be appointed by the delegations from the various States. Mr. THURBER accepted the amendment, and the motion as amended was adopted.

On motion of GOVERNOR DOUGHERTY, of Illinois, a Committee of one from each State was appointed for the nomination of officers for the ensuing year.

At the direction of the Chair, the Secretary read the following communication:

The citizens of Chicago, and the State of Illinois, respectfully tender a banquet at the Grand Pacific Hotel, to the members of the Convention from abroad, on Thursday evening, the 16th instant, at 8 o'clock. Delegates from this city, and from the State at large, can get their tickets by applying at room 1, Pacific Hotel, or to the Committee.

J. W. PRESTON,
W. N. BARNARD,
JAMES T. PAXTON,

Committee on Invitations.

On motion of Mr. BAKER, of New York, the Convention unanimously and thankfully accepted the invitation.

The Chair then stated that it had been customary heretofore to have the different Committees, on Railroads, Water Routes, etc., to report early in the session. The Convention called for the report on Railroads, which was submitted and read by the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. THURBER, as follows:

To HON. JOSIAH QUINCY, *President of the American Board of Transportation and Commerce:*

The Standing Committee on Railway Transportation of this Association, beg leave to submit the following brief report upon the Railway system of the United States:

THE RELATION OF OUR PUBLIC HIGHWAYS TO CIVIL GOVERNMENT

is one of the momentous questions at this time before the American people; it involves the prosperity of commerce and the welfare of both the producing and consuming classes, in short, the interests of every citizen of the United States.

The old common laws of highways, was based upon public proprietorship and private use; ownership and jurisdiction being held by the organized sovereignty of the State, which permitted the common carrier and the public to use the highways under such regulations as were for the public good.

This was the situation at the time of the discovery and application of steam to the purposes of transportation, and here—as in all other relations of life, it revolutionized existing conditions. Instead of the people building and owning the improved highways, in nearly every instance they delegated their powers and duties in this respect to associations of individuals, reserving, however, the sovereign power to regulate and control. The charters first granted were for small and unimportant lines, but economy and convenience of operation was a powerful incentive to consolidation, and the power which, when divided among small local roads, was insignificant and harmless, became, through combination and consolidation, strong enough to control and oppress the people who created it. So powerful did these great combinations of capital become, that Legislatures were controlled, charters disregarded, courts of Justice corrupted, and the principle was asserted that the creature was greater than the Creator, and that charters granted by the people of one generation, were a perpetual, irrevocable, unalterable obligation upon those of the next generation.

For a long time the public were satisfied with the development and increase in values which inevitably accompanied the application of steam to the purposes of transportation; but after a time the fact became apparent that they were not sharing proportionately in the benefits; that the abuses which had crept into the system were a burden upon the many for the benefit of the few, and a reaction set in, which for the past four years has made great progress. At first it was claimed that there was constitutional objections in the way of the people helping themselves through their organization of Government; that in relinquishing the ownership of highways, the State also relinquished its power of control, and many other theories of similar character were brought forward and advocated with the ability and force that is always at the command of large aggregations of capital. A large and influential portion of "*the Press*" has persistently opposed every measure tending to curtail the power, influence and revenues of these great monopolies, yet public opinion has been steadily progressing, and is gradually crystalizing upon certain great principles, which may be summed up as "Equal rights and universal justice to all men."

A remarkable confirmation of this view of the case is found in the conclusions of the United States Senate Committee on Transportation Routes, as will be seen from the text of their report which is as follows:

“First. That the powers of Congress, whatever they may be, are derived directly from the people of the several States, and not from the States themselves.

Second. That every important word in the clauses which confer the “power to regulate commerce among the several States” and to “make all laws which shall be necessary for carrying it into execution,” has received legislative, executive and judicial construction, and under such construction the power of Congress to regulate inter-State transportations by railroads, and to aid and facilitate commerce, is clearly established.

Third, That in the exercise of this power, Congress is authorized, under the grant of auxiliary power, to employ such means as are appropriate and plainly adapted to their execution.

Fourth. That in the selection of means, by which inter-State commerce shall be regulated, Congress may:

1. Prescribe the rules by which the instruments, vehicles, and agents engaged in transporting commodities from one State into or through another, shall be governed, whether such transportation is by land or water.
2. That it may appropriate money for the construction of railways or canals, when the same shall be necessary for the regulation of commerce.
3. That it may incorporate a company with authority to construct them.
4. That it may exercise the right of eminent domain within a State in order to provide for the construction of such railways and canals, or,
5. It may, in the exercise of the right of eminent domain, take for the public use, paying just compensation therefor, any existing railway or canal owned by private persons or corporations.”

Perhaps a still more remarkable illustration of the changes which the progress of the age has wrought, is the opinion of the Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, on State rights, expressed by him at the last Convention of this Association, held in Richmond, Va., about one year ago. Mr. Hunter stated that the old “State rights” advocates, of which he was one of the most radical, had greatly modified their views, and while he still thought, where public works within a State could be executed without calling upon the general Government, that it was better to do so, yet the boundaries of commerce had become so extended in this age of steam and electricity, that there was a class of works needed which States were powerless to execute, and that, therefore, it was necessary that the National Government should undertake such works.

Let us examine into

THE CAUSES OF THIS CHANGE.

Fifty years ago it cost about thirty-three cents to move a ton one mile by animal power, on ordinary roads, and the average speed was twenty

miles per day; to-day, with our improved roads and steam power, it costs from 1 to 1½ cents per mile, and the average time is about 125 miles per day. This is practically abbreviating time and space, for in the ordinary operations of commerce a reduction of one-half in the time required to place merchandise at the point where it may be required, doubles the distance and greatly extends the area from which the supply may be obtained; or to put it in a different way, it reduces the distance between two points just one-half. Such an enormous reduction in the cost makes it possible, also, to utilize many products which before were useless because they were not where they were wanted.

This is illustrated by dividing the price of an article by the cost of transporting it one mile; for instance a ton of wheat contains 33 bushels, at \$1.50 per bushel—value \$49.50—can be transported 150 miles, and a ton of corn containing 36 bushels, at 75 cents—value \$27.00—82 miles at 33 cents per ton per mile; while at 1 cent per ton per mile they can be transported respectively 4950 and 2700 miles before the charges for transportation equal their value; hence we can see that the discovery and application of steam to the purposes of transportation must necessarily have had an enormous influence upon commerce, for commerce consists in having an article where it is wanted at the time it is wanted.

Fifty years ago commerce was a crude, slow, and laborious interchange of products. A few persons controlled the principal staples in the markets of the world, and stored them until the consumer was obliged to pay the price asked for them. Now, the whole world has become producers or traders, and in the event of scarcity at a given place, the news is flashed to the point of supply—under the ocean and around the earth, even—and the giant power of steam hurries the products of the world to our doors. In this way we see how wonderfully the power of electricity supplements and aids the usefulness of steam; there is nothing yet discovered in creation so marvelous, and we must turn to fairy land for a parallel; the story of Aladdin and his Lamp is realized; steam is our “geni,” and electricity our “slave of the ring”—one has the power to remove mountains, the other to annihilate time and space. These are the causes which have compelled the advocates of the rights of States to modify their views; the rights of States as States must give way to the rights of men as men, and one of these rights is to share in the enormous benefits which steam has conferred upon the human race, and in none of its various functions has its benefits been so remarkable as in that of transportation.

So numerous and important have the changes been since the discovery of steam and electricity, that almost every department of life has been revolutionized, and one of the most important tasks before the statesmen of to-day, is the equitable adjustment of the fundamental laws by which the benefits and burdens of life are distributed and regulated. These changes are at the root of all difficulties between capital and labor; at the root of every strike and every lockout. Capital invested in our transportation system is entitled to a fair remuneration, but a railroad, being by the

nature of the work, a monopoly, not subject to the usual laws of supply and demand, by which all other kinds of business are regulated, it naturally becomes indifferent to the rights of the public whenever they conflict with its interest, and hence, defects and abuses have crept into our present system of Railways, which the entire public are now unjustly taxed to sustain.

It may be asked

WHAT ARE THESE DEFECTS ?

We will state that they are found at almost every stage of the construction and operation of these improved highways, and we will indicate a few.

First, construction is often undertaken by irresponsible men without capital, who obtain a charter to build a road that perhaps is not needed; they obtain all the local subscriptions possible, and then issue construction bonds secured by mortgage upon the road; they then form a construction company, and let the contract for building the road to themselves at a price which will admit of sub-letting to bona fide contractors at a large profit; the bonds are sold at a sacrifice, and the cost of the road is thus greatly enhanced. After completion, the stock is divided among the projectors without equivalent, and rates for transportation fixed high enough to pay interest on bonds and dividends on stock. As soon as the projectors can dispose of a large proportion of their stock they do so, but generally manage to retain control of enough to assure their retention as managers of the road; they vote themselves large salaries, and perhaps make contracts with bridge companies, or coal companies, or supply companies, in which they are interested, to furnish those services and supplies at exorbitant prices; these gradually bankrupt the road, and when it is sold they are able to buy it in at a low price, issue new stock and repeat their financial operation over again.

Another phase in railroad management is, for men of wealth (often acquired in the way we have described) to find a road which has developed a good business, buy a controlling interest, elect their own Board of Directors, mismanage the property purposely until the stock is depressed sufficiently low, then buy up the balance; suddenly discover that the road is an immensely valuable property, and that its capital stock bears no proportion to the actual expenditures made upon it (from its earnings since construction); issue new stock without, or partially without, equivalent, and gradually advance rates until regular dividends are paid on the whole mass of obligations thus created. An instance of this kind of railroad management may be seen in the New York Central and Hudson River Road, about 450 miles in length, which in 1867-8 presented its stockholders with 48,000,000 of stock, which has since paid 8 per cent. dividends, amounting in eight years to \$39,720,000, or, with interest compounded annually at 7 per cent., \$39,397,000, a sum which, it may justly be said, would have remained in the pockets of producers and consumers, manufacturers and traders, if this inflation of stock had not been permitted. (Note, in 1885, these dividends with compound interest, if continued, will

amount to 118,000,000 of dollars.) It is argued by the apologists for this practice, that it was a perfectly just and proper proceeding, because investors in railroad property are entitled to an increase in values of property the same as are owners of real estate; but it must be remembered, primarily, that a railroad is semi-public in its nature; that it is granted certain privileges, among which is the right of eminent domain—the right to take private property against the will of its owner, “because it is for public use”—and therefore it owes some duties to the public, which a private citizen or a manufacturing company does not. Again it might be remembered that the men who issued the stock had nothing to do with building the road originally, it having changed owners, and it must also be remembered that the very improvements which this stock was issued to represent had been paid for out of the surplus earnings of the road—that the public had, so to speak, paid for the improvements for which stock was issued, and which forever after they can be taxed to pay dividends upon.

When it becomes the interest of unscrupulous men to perpetuate these defects they become politicians. And, so many of our railway managers are of this class, and so often is political influence in demand to serve their purposes, that in many parts of our country the entire patronage of these powerful organizations is bent to that end, and the political management of railways has become a science:

One great feature, however, of their politics is, that they never quarrel with the party in power. Influential men on both sides are cultivated; free passes are a usual attention to prominent men; editors and legislators all travel on free passes; members of Congress and Senators of the United States are favorites; many are avowedly elected in that interest; others, who belong to the legal profession, are retained professionally; influence is brought to bear in a hundred ways which are not considered directly dishonorable, and when necessary, the purchasing power of money is freely used. In the report of a Committee appointed by the Legislature of the State of New York, in 1872, to investigate the affairs of the Erie Railroad, we find the following:

“It is further in evidence that it has been the custom of the managers of the Erie Railway, from year to year in the past, to spend large sums to control elections and to influence legislation. In the year 1868 more than \$1,000,000 was disbursed from the treasury for ‘extra and legal service.’” For interesting items see Mr. Watson’s testimony, pages 336 and 337.

Mr. Gould, when last on the stand and examined in relation to various vouchers shown him, admitted the payment, during the three years prior to 1872, of large sums to Barber, Tweed, and others, and to influence legislation or elections; these amounts were charged to the ‘India rubber account.’ The memory of this witness was very defective as to details, and he could only remember large transactions, but could distinctly recall that he had been in the habit of sending money into the numerous districts all over the State, either to control nominations or elections for Senators and members of Assembly. He considered that, as a rule, such investments

paid better than to wait till the men got to Albany; and added the significant remark, when asked a question, that it would be as impossible to specify the numerous instances, as it would to recall to mind the numerous freight cars sent over the Erie road from day to day." (See testimony p. 556.)

The report concludes with the following remarkable words:

"It is not reasonable to suppose that the Erie railway has been alone in the corrupt use of money for the purposes named, but the sudden revolution in the direction of this company' has laid bare a chapter in the secret history of railroad management such as has not been permitted before. It exposes the reckless and prodigal use of money, wrung from the people to purchase the election of the people's representatives, and to bribe them when in office. According to Mr. Gould, his operations extended into four different States. It was his custom to contribute money to influence nominations and elections."

As relief from these abuses must come from legislation, no improvement can be looked for until public opinion becomes strong enough to make such practices dangerous both for railroad managers and the average politician whom they make use of.

When this is accomplished, the minor abuses, common to railroad management, can be remedied by State Legislation; but there remains a class of defects such as fictitious cost of construction and watering of stock on most of the trunk lines which can only be reached by competition.

The road having watered their stocks cannot now reduce them. You cannot legislate the water out that has been put in. The managers will not reduce rates until compelled to do so, and, as above stated, they can only be compelled by competition.

The question then arises

HOW CAN EFFECTIVE COMPETITION BE SECURED?

Some persons think that it can best be obtained through the construction of water lines, and it is undoubtedly true, that in the past, water transportation has played a most important part in transporting the heavy products of this country; but unless improvements are made in the construction and operation of artificial water-ways, it seems probable that they will play a secondary part in the transportation system of the future. Of the 5,000 miles of canal in the United States, about one-half have been abandoned, or their traffic has been diverted, so that they are practically useless. In a communication made to this body by the delegates from the Cincinnati Board of Trade last year, the following views are expressed: "That it is not possible for long and artificial water channels to compete successfully with railroads; it is, no doubt, desirable that canals which have been constructed, should be maintained, for, to a certain extent, they prevent railroad monopoly, but the time is past for the construction of any more, unless it may be short links connecting great bodies of water, or to overcome the obstructions therein." These are substantially the

views of your Committee, who, while believing that there is no antagonism between water and rail transportation, as each has its domains where respective superiority is incontrovertible. Large natural bodies of water with sufficient depth to float large vessels, upon which steam can be successfully used as a motive power, will undoubtedly always furnish cheap and satisfactory transportation; but with canals, and with many rivers where both room and depth of water are limited, the case is different; and as cheapness is only one of the great requisites that influence trade, your Committee are constrained to believe that railroads will continue to play a more important and constantly increasing part in the transportation system of the future. Canals are too slow for many classes of goods, are closed a portion of the year by ice, and cannot be built through many sections of country which are practicable for railroads. The elements of speed and certainty enter so largely into the calculations of modern commerce, that railroads have become the favorite means of transport, and, as in the case of the post office and the telegraph, the public will often pay a higher price for quicker transit. This element of *time* has a greater bearing upon the subject of transportation than is generally understood; it is not alone the interest on capital saved; trade combinations are made and plans are consummated, which would not otherwise be practicable; capital can sometimes be turned often at close margins with greater profit to the owner than on a less number of transactions with larger margins.

RAILROADS HAVE BECOME THE GREAT DISTRIBUTORS.

And we are, therefore, forced to the conclusion that for all trunk lines, railroads exclusively for freight, honestly built for ready money, will furnish the most effective competition. All estimates of the cost of transportation by rail are based on the results of mixed passenger and freight traffic, in which, of necessity, passenger trains have the right of way, and freight trains have to lie up much of the time when they should be rolling on to their destination. Owing to these detentions, the present average speed of freight trains is under five miles per hour, while upon a road exclusively for freight, an average of ten miles per hour could be attained, and the capacity of the road so increased that freight charges could be reduced one-half. The New York Central is the only example we have of this kind of a road, but the performances of its exclusive freight tracks during the past summer exceeds the most sanguine hopes of its projectors, who openly assert they can carry with profit at rates which are not remunerative for the steam canal boats of the Baxter line. Your Committee believe that an exclusive freight railroad built and operated upon the principles just indicated, connecting the grain growing sections of the great West with the Atlantic seaboard, together with the improvement of existing water lines, and the possible construction of one or two short links of canal in the chain of natural water routes now existing, would furnish a solution of the question of cheap transportation—at least for many years. This brings us to the consideration of

MEANS FOR OBTAINING THESE IMPROVED FACILITIES.

There are a class of people who believe that whenever a necessity exists for internal improvements, that sufficient private capital will be forthcoming to build them. Doubtless there are many honest advocates of this theory, but they do not consider the difficulties in the way—difficulties of comparatively recent origin. As remarked by Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, at our convention last year, "The boundaries of commerce have become so extended in this age of steam and electricity, that there is a class of works needed which individuals, or even States are powerless to execute," and that, therefore, works of national extent and character can only be constructed by the co-operation of the entire people through the National Government. The present trunk lines of road between the East and the West were constructed by piecemeal, yet received financial aid to a very considerable extent from States and municipalities, which are now in most instances prevented from extending aid to such enterprises by constitutional prohibitions—prohibitions which in some instances, at least, were instigated by the managers of existing roads for the purpose of preventing competing lines from being established. To raise, by private subscription and credit, the amount necessary to thus improve our transportation system, would be simply impossible; for the reason, in the first place, that the large capitalists of the country are hostile to such a scheme, and the producing, consuming and commercial portion of the community would not be able to divert from their legitimate avocations the necessary amount of capital; besides, the further and very important consideration remains, that if the attempt was made to build such a railroad as has been indicated, without Government aid, *supervision* and *control*, it would no sooner be completed than it would be controlled by, and forced into combination with, existing lines. As previously stated, the managers of our transportation system have grown so rich and powerful under the present system, and the capital that they control is so organized, consolidated and combined—so powerful and far-reaching in its influence, that the organization of the people through the machinery of their Government, is the only one through which redress can be obtained. Every day that this mode of relief is postponed makes the task more difficult, for the managers of our great corporations are daily growing richer and more powerful. Combinations and consolidations are constantly being consummated, and a centralized power will soon be organized which will be beyond the power of the people to successfully oppose. Unless we admit the principle that the many should be taxed for the benefit of a privileged class, we cannot act too soon in endeavoring to remedy the present state of things.

THE OBJECTIONS WHICH ARE MADE

to the Government aiding in the construction of these modern highways are: 1st. That it would add to the centralization of power in the hands of Government, a power already too large. 2d. That when once begun each section of country would expect and demand that the same facilities

should be extended to it that had already been extended to other sections of the country. 3d. That Government aid, whether in the form of subsidies or otherwise, has been productive of frauds and scandals, such as the Credit Mobilier and the Pacific Mail Steamship swindles. 4th. That it would only be adding to the capital invested in transportation lines, which are already thought to be sufficiently numerous. 5th. That it would furnish no essential element in the cheapening of transportation which would enable us to compete with the productions of other nations in the markets of the world. And 6th. That the financial condition of the United States is not at this time sufficiently favorable to afford the expense attending the construction of extensive internal improvements.

IN ANSWER TO THESE OBJECTIONS

we may state that, in regard to the *first*, "that it would be a centralization of power in the hands of Government." It is somewhat of an anomaly to raise this objection when the object sought is to obtain relief from a centralization power—a centralization not in the hands of Government, but in the hands of corporations, which by combinations have become, for the time being, more powerful than the Government.

On page 158 of the report of the United States Senate Committee on Transportation Routes, we find the following:

"In the matter of taxation, there are to-day four great trunk lines between Chicago and New York, who possess and who not unfrequently exercise powers which the Congress of the United States would not venture to exert. They may at any time, and for any reason satisfactory to themselves, by a single stroke of the pen, reduce the value of property in this country by hundreds of millions of dollars. An additional charge of five cents per bushel on the charge of cereals would have been equivalent to a tax of forty-five millions of dollars on the crop of 1873. No Congress would dare to exercise so vast a power, except upon a necessity of the most imperative nature; and yet these gentlemen exercise it whenever it suits their supreme will and pleasure, without explanation or apology. With the rapid and inevitable progress of combination and consolidation, those colossal organizations are daily becoming stronger and more imperious. The day is not distant, if it has not already arrived, when it will be the duty of the statesman to inquire whether there is less danger in leaving the property and industrial interest of the people thus wholly at the mercy of a few men, who recognize no responsibility but to their stockholders, and no principle of action but personal and corporate aggrandizement, than in adding somewhat to the power and patronage of a government directly responsible to the people, and entirely under their control."

In regard to the *second* objection, that it would be impossible to fix a limit at which these improvements should stop," we would state that, in the opinion of your Committee, this is not a serious objection; that public opinion would regulate this matter, and confine it to the construction of those great trunk lines which are absolutely necessary to bind the country together in bonds of common interest.

In regard to the *third* objection, it does not follow necessarily that because government aid to public enterprise in the past has been productive of scandals and corruption that it should be so in the future, any more

than it follows that a person who, while taking necessary exercise, imprudently exposes himself and is taken sick in consequence thereof, should not a second time guard against the imprudence which caused the trouble. There are new ways of dealing with new difficulties; new diseases must be met with new forms of treatment; and new laws must be framed to meet the changed conditions of the age in which we live. During the past few years we have had much valuable experience which will enable us to guard against mismanagement and frauds in this line in the future, and notwithstanding this experience has been costly, there are none at this time so unappreciative as not to admit that every dollar thus invested has already paid for itself many times over in the development of the country and in substantial benefit to the people.

In regard to the *fourth* objection, "that it would only be adding to the capital invested in transportation lines which are now thought to be sufficiently numerous." we would state that this argument will only be put forward by those interested in maintaining the present system—a system which dwarfs production, stifles commerce, and prevents us competing in the markets of the world. If there be any honest advocates of this theory, they are men who ignore the logic of the past development of this country. They ignore the fact that less than one-tenth of the arable lands of the Mississippi valley have yet been put under cultivation. They forget that the population of this country has steadily increased during the last half century in a compound ratio at the rate of three per cent. per annum, and that within the next thirty years it will reach one hundred millions of souls, of which more than two-thirds will be in the western States—a population which, by the aid of the labor-saving, wealth-creating, wonderful steam engine, will have a producing capacity, compared with the same population without that power, in the proportion of more than ten to one. They forget the fact that the printing-press the postoffice and the telegraph have made the distribution of intelligence the every-day accompaniment of modern civilization, and they forget that not only will greatly increased facilities of transportation be required, but that this great people will demand that those facilities be made more perfect than those of the present time, and that the many shall not be longer taxed for the benefit of the few.

Fifth—In regard to the objection, "that it would furnish no essential element in the cheapening of transportation." Those who advance this argument can hardly hope to further impose upon the credulity of the public. The present railway system of the United States has been constructed with but little reference to the requirements of freight; it is made up of local roads with heavy grades and short curves, and neither iron or rolling stock suitable for the economical transportation of through freight; yet with this and the many other defects in construction and operation mentioned elsewhere, it has gradually encroached upon the domain of water transportation to an extent that has astonished all who have witnessed it. When railroads were first built it was thought that they would only be available for carrying passengers; it was found, however, that freight of a valuable

character could be carried, and soon monopolized this class, and began to be available for freight of the second class; it then began to compete with water routes for the third class; but it was not thought possible that beyond this it could be utilized; soon, however, it began to carry freights of the fourth class, but persons who talked of successfully transporting bulk grain long distances by rail were looked upon as visionary and impracticable; it is scarce ten years since this was attempted, and yet during the past twelve months more than two-thirds of the bulk grain reaching the seaboard was carried there by rail. During this period the railroad has monopolized the carrying of all other merchandise, except the products of the forest and the mine, and of these it distributes by far the larger portion.

In the light of this experience—these accomplished *facts*—who shall say that railroads exclusively for freight, in which there shall be no delays, as in the present system of mixed passenger and freight traffic, and upon which a steady and, if need be, continuous stream of freight can flow onward to its destination, would furnish no essential element in the cheapening of transportation, which would enable us to compete successfully with other nations in the markets of the world.

Sixth—In response to the objection that the finances of the country are not in a condition to warrant the expenditure of money for internal improvements, we desire to state that, in the opinion of your Committee, those persons who oppose the co-operation of the people, through the machinery of government, to provide improved transportation facilities, are opposing not alone the only means by which they can be obtained, but are also opposing the only method by which the finances of this country can be put upon a sound and prosperous basis.

Agriculture, mining and manufactures—the three great elements of commerce—are depressed and unremunerative. In short, the whole machinery of production, distribution and consumption is disorganized, and being destroyed for the want of *this chief corner-stone in the foundation of our commercial prosperity*. The financial question, which has attracted so much attention of late, depends primarily upon the solution of the question of transportation. *The principle, that a sound currency is the RESULT and not the cause of prosperity*, cannot be too loudly or too frequently enunciated; and those statesmen and political economists who overlook this primary law will sooner or later be forced to recognize it and advocate a policy of government that will CAUSE prosperity.

Forty millions per year, expended for five years in providing suitable transportation facilities for our commerce, would place the United States far in advance of all other nations in the race for commercial supremacy, and repay the outlay a hundred fold within a quarter of a century. If such a policy be strangled by the influence of the consolidated capital now invested in our present defective transportation system, it will be a blot upon our system of government, and a disgrace to the statesmanship of the age in which we live.

In conclusion, your committee respectfully submit that the remedies for the defects and abuses in our present system of transportation must comprise the construction, by the National Government, or by national aid, and *with national control* which will give results equivalent thereto, of a national iron highway for the movement of freight between the grain-growing section of the West and the Atlantic seaboard; and, as auxiliary thereto, existing water lines should be improved and such additional ones constructed as promise the best results for the amount of capital invested.

The internal commerce of the United States has increased so that it has become the controlling element in a national prosperity, exceeding that of our foreign commerce in the ratio of more than ten to one; and it has not in the past received the amount of attention that its importance merits. Your committee respectfully recommend that this convention present a memorial to Congress, asking that a joint committee of both Houses of Congress be appointed to consider and report at the next session of Congress upon the advisability of establishing another executive department of the National Government, to be called the *Department of Internal Commerce*, which shall be specially charged with all matters relating to the internal commerce of the United States.

Your committee believe that this convention should make a suitable expression of these views to the Congress of the United States, and that each member of the convention should advocate them wherever and whenever practicable, to the end that a favorable public sentiment may be created and the great boon of cheap transportation be attained.

LOCAL LEGISLATION RECOMMENDED.

We further recommend the following course in relation to the regulation of those railroads lying wholly within the limits of individual States:

State regulation of railways by making laws in detail, stating what rates they shall charge and how they shall transact their business is, as a whole, impracticable. If you attempt to regulate the details of railway management by specific enactments, before you have carefully studied the subject, the moment you fill the statute-books with a mass of laws which benefit only the members of the legal profession, and you largely increase the amount of official corruption; for what is applicable to one road is not applicable to another, and it is a matter of such delicacy and detail that it is almost an impossibility to equitably regulate the details of railway management.

There are, however, certain general laws which are practicable, and which every State should enact for the regulation of railroads which are exclusively within its borders.

Under this head we may enumerate the following:

1. A law providing a board of railway commissioners, with power to prescribe a uniform system of keeping railway accounts, and with other powers and duties similar to those possessed by the railway commissioners

of Massachusetts. While these powers are quite limited, yet they are sufficient to focalize public opinion, and this power, when intelligently directed toward the minor defects in the management of railways, will rarely fail to secure reforms. This is a most important matter, and the public can afford to pay salaries which will command talent of a high order for this purpose. If men are secured whose characters command respect, the railway commissioners of a State become efficient arbitrators in all matters where the interest of the public and those of transportation lines conflict.

2. A law to prevent stock inflations similar to the one now in operation in Massachusetts. The evils of this practice have been described at length elsewhere in this report, and we will dismiss it with the remark, that the provisions of the law referred to are substantially, that no stock shall be issued except for a specific purpose, and when issued shall be sold at public auction. In short, that a road, if it wants additional capital, shall go into the market and borrow it, instead of making the public pay for it in the shape of exorbitant transportation charges, commonly termed "surplus earnings," for which, in other States, stock is frequently issued, and the people are made to pay dividends upon the very capital they have themselves paid in.

3. A law prohibiting officers or directors of railways from either directly or indirectly owning or becoming interested in any non-co-operative fast freight line, car company, or bridge company, or from being interested in any manner in the furnishing of supplies to any company with which they may have official connection.

4. A law prohibiting railway companies from acquiring or holding more real estate than is necessary for the operation of their roads, and prohibiting railway companies, or officers of companies, from engaging in mining or any business other than that of transportation. This provision is taken from the new constitution of the State of Pennsylvania, and is designed to prevent in the future such monopolies as exist in that State, by which the general public is discriminated against, or ruled out altogether in certain kinds of business.

5. A law providing that all common carriers shall receipt for *quantity*, whether it be of grain or other commodities, and to deliver the same at its destination. This is designed particularly to secure a proper responsibility for grain carried in bulk by rail; a responsibility which therefore has been declined by railways, although recognized by all other common carriers.

6. A law making it a penal offense for any public official to accept or use the free pass of any railway company, and prohibiting railway companies from granting such passes to any but regular employes of such railways.

The propriety of such a law is obvious when we reflect that such favors are granted to public officials solely to place them under obligation to these great corporations who are constantly in our legislative halls asking for

legislation antagonistic to the public interests. A free pass is the entering wedge in many schemes of legislative corruption, and the influence of honest legislators is frequently secured in favor of seemingly innocent measures by the little attention of a free pass. If further reasons are needed to show the necessity of such a law, we may state that those who pay have to bear the additional burden of those who do not; and also, if legislators had to pay for their traveling we would probably see closer attention paid to legislative duties and more hours of work in a legislative session than we now do, when State Capitals are deserted on Friday by legislators who do not return until the following Tuesday.

7. A law prohibiting representatives of the people who belong to the legal profession from being retained on either side in cases where the public interest is involved, is sufficient reason for such a law being enacted both by the United States and every State in the Union; indeed the 5th, 6th and 7th recommendations should be enacted by Congress as well as by the various States.

This closes the labors of your Committee, which we trust may meet with the approval of the Convention. While we can scarcely hope for the immediate and full realization of the views advocated by us, yet we are firmly convinced they are founded upon truth and justice, and that they will ultimately be realized.

We believe that this country is about entering upon a commercial era such as the world has never seen. Our country possesses the wealth of the field, the forest and the mine to an extent unequaled by any other country on the face of the globe. The increase of our population is unparalleled, and we have just begun to learn how to use the great factors in modern civilization—steam and electricity. Thirty years hence the statesmen of the times will look out over a nation of a hundred millions of active, energetic and intelligent people—a nation made possible by those great factors—and wonder how in the first fifty years of their usefulness their benefits could have been monopolized by any class of individuals as they are at this time.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

F. B. THURBER, New York.

A. B. SMEDLEY, Iowa.

J. NELSON HARRIS, Kentucky.

S. R. MOORE, Illinois.

F. C. JOHNSON, Indiana.

The report was accepted and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The following Committees were then appointed:

Committee on Permanent Officers for the ensuing year:—Col. Lyman Bridges, Illinois; Geo. A. Merwin, New York; D. C. Dodge, Vermont; F. Bernard, Montreal; T. F. Mumford, Virginia; P. H. Woolford, Kentucky; J. B. Cumming, Iowa; J. B. Himmer, Indiana; J. I. Martin, Missouri; W. M. Tilesten, Minnesota; J. H. Osborn, Wisconsin; H. J.

Chapman, Oregon; Gov. Robinson, Kansas; George W. Reynolds, Ohio; A. Cobb, Nebraska; E. S. Ross, Mississippi.

Committee on Resolutions and Reports.—F. B. Thurber, New York; F. C. Kennedy Vermont; W. J. Wells, Ohio; Gov. Robinson, Kansas; H. I. Chapman, Oregon; S. D. Carpenter, Wisconsin; M. McIlhane, Missouri; D. L. Ross, Mississippi; C. C. Sturtevant, Minnesota; James S. Hurley, Iowa; L. B. Milligan, Indiana; Henry Buckhart, Kentucky; Col. E. Daniels, Virginia; L. C. Reeves, New Jersey; John Young, Canada; Samuel P. Cummings, Illinois; A. Cobb, Nebraska.

An able paper on Railway Regulation was then read by S. D. Carpenter, of Wisconsin, for which the Convention returned a vote of thanks, and after which it adjourned until eight o'clock in the evening.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention was called to order at eight o'clock, pursuant to adjournment, by Vice-President HENRY. Gov. Bross, of Illinois, offered a series of resolutions, which formed the basis of discussion during the evening. Mr. BIGELOW, of Vermont, followed in a brief and eloquent speech in advocacy of the Caughnawaga Canal, substantially as follows:

"I am aware, Mr. PRESIDENT, that the chief consideration of this large and intelligent Convention has thus far been given to all rail routes as the best means towards accomplishing cheap transportation; but that the great water routes from the West to the East will receive their fair share of attention and discussion, I have not the least doubt. Indeed, the handsome tribute paid by the distinguished Chairman of the Committee on Railroads, (Mr. THURBER, of New York) in his able report to the Convention this afternoon, to those natural channels of commerce, assures me that the measure, to further which the delegation from the city of Burlington, Vermont, has been sent here, is one of that importance which will receive careful consideration and intelligent action from this Convention.

The Caughnawaga Canal project, whose benefits are so fully set forth in the resolutions of Gov. Bross, is not a new one. Over a quarter of a century ago it was brought to the attention of the people of the United States and Canada. Such distinguished statesmen and publicists as Robert J. Walker and Chancellor Walworth have given it their approval, and eminent engineers as Mills, McElpine and Jervis have demonstrated the feasibility and cheapness of the undertaking. But twenty-nine miles in length, with only twenty-five feet lockage, with depth sufficient to float vessels of a thousand tons, costing not five millions of dollars, its construction would at once serve to reduce the cost of carrying fourth-rate freight

from the West to the seaboard at least fifty per cent. That the speedy construction of the proposed canal is of great importance in a natural point of view, is shown from the fact that the able Senate Committee on Transportation, of which Senator Windom was Chairman, and which embraced among its members Senators Conklin, of New York, Sherman, of Ohio, Johnson, of Virginia, and Norwood, of Georgia, unanimously endorsed it in their report as one of the four great water routes which should be developed in order to secure cheap transportation. But, sir, we of Vermont, and elsewhere, who have a deep interest in the Caughnawaga Canal, have obtained our best information concerning its construction and the grand results to so certainly flow from it, from the lips and pen of a distinguished statesman of the Dominion of Canada, who, I am happy to see, is in attendance on this Convention. A close student of political economy for years, connected with the public works of Canada, Hon. John Young, of Montreal, has made this project, I might say, the darling idea of his life. Nearly thirty years ago, at a commercial convention held at Troy, New York, he brought this subject to the attention of the business men of the East. As a pioneer in the project, and as President of the Caughnawaga Canal Company, Mr. Young can give this body such information and details concerning the project as, I am confident, will greatly interest them, and I therefore leave its further discussion in his competent hands."

MR. YOUNG addressed the Convention as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—I will waste no words in presenting to you the subject in hand. I have the honor of representing here, in part, the New Dominion, and to assure you that we, of Canada, are not unmindful of the importance of cheap transportation. We have done much by deepening the St. Lawrence river. The work has so far advanced as to enable us, instead of employing the former vessel of 250 tons, to employ the vessels we now do, steamers of 4,000 tons. We are encouraged, Mr. President, in deepening it still further. We have got to compete on the St. Lawrence with other parts of the Continent. We have ten steamers and employ about five hundred men, and we are now at work in probably spending three millions of dollars in attempting to make a channel of twenty-five feet to Montreal. Now, Mr. Chairman, you are interested in these things. If we succeed in them, freights will be greatly reduced, and Montreal will be brought 126 miles nearer the interior than any seaboard on the Continent. The effect of making these light-houses in the Gulf of St. Lawrence was to reduce the rate of insurance from about four and five per cent. to what it is now, equal to New York in the summer season. The effect of deepening the river is that instead of employing a 250 ton ship, compared with what they are now, has reduced freights nearly forty per cent. The principle prevails everywhere that where the size of a vessel is increased the freight is thereby cheapened. The same law has prevailed on the Erie Canal. In 1825, when the boats were of seventy-five tons, the rate of freight, after the canal was enlarged for 210 ton boats, was reduced some fifty per cent. The

same result, I have no doubt, will take place when we get a channel of twenty-five feet. Our canals, at first, on the Welland and on the St. Lawrence, were made of small size. The canals on the St. Lawrence river were made for boats of one hundred tons, with locks one hundred feet in length and twenty-two feet wide. These had to be enlarged, and in 1849 they were made 200 feet by 45 feet. The locks on the Welland Canal were partly enlarged to 200 feet by 45 feet, but two of the locks were left of the old size, 26 feet, so that no vessels over 850 tons can pass through. The Government is now engaged, and two of the locks are now finished on the Welland Canal, for vessels of 1,000 tons, the locks being 270 feet by 45 feet, and 14 feet deep. The same plan will be followed on the St. Lawrence Canal. These canals on the St. Lawrence are only some forty-two miles long. The Welland Canal is twenty-eight miles long. The question, therefore, when these works are completed, will be, "Where is the outlet to be?" At present, our trade on the St. Lawrence is confined exclusively to our export trade. We have no means of taking any trade from the West through on to Lake Champlain. The only way of going to Lake Champlain is from the Ottawa, down the Ottawa river, down the St. Lawrence and Sorrelle, forty-five miles up that river and through the waters called the Chaumbey Canal, a canal that was originally suggested by Mr. Allen, of Vermont, to the British Government. This is, therefore, 121 miles from Montreal up to the foot of Lake Champlain. By this canal and the Caughnawaga Canal the distance will be only $29\frac{1}{2}$ miles, with a lockage of 26 feet. By the other route, the present one, the length of the river and canal is 121 miles, and 104 feet of lockage. The Caughnawaga Canal would save 104 miles in length and 89 feet of lockage. This canal is now owned by a private company. By the Washington treaty, the American Government and the American people have the same right to the St. Lawrence as we have ourselves, and have the same right to all the canals belonging to the Government. On the Caughnawaga Canal they have not this right, as I think it is a key to the whole. It was an oversight, I have no doubt, when the Washington treaty was made. In giving away the St. Lawrence we got a lease of Lake Michigan for ten years, five of which have expired. That is the bargain I understand. Now this question of Lake Michigan is a very important one, because I have a knowledge of the disadvantages of not having it free to British vessels. I remember in 1850, as the Custom House books of Chicago will show, I sent the propeller *Iron*, Captain Patterson, with an assorted cargo to Chicago, and that vessel was seized on account of carrying a British flag. She had no business here. I saw that great man Robert J. Walker, and told him we had no differential duties in Canada against the United States or any country. She was at once released, and I had the honor of sending the first cargo of grain from Chicago down to Montreal. [Applause.] Now the question of transportation comes up in reference to the Caughnawaga Canal. When that canal is finished, it will, as I said before, accommodate vessels of 2,000 tons. A vessel then can sail from the head of Lake Superior or from Chicago and go down through the Welland Canal, 28 miles long, proceed down the St. Lawrence—it is now the purpose of the Canadian Government

to deepen the river St. Lawrence so that the canal will not be used on the downward trip—I say that a vessel can go from Chicago down through the Welland Canal, down through the lakes, down through the river and on to Lake Champlain with 57 miles of canal. She can deliver her cargo in Burlington or any other port on Lake Champlain, and that cargo of one thousand tons, 50,000 bushels, can be distributed through New England at a less price than it is possible by any other route. If a canal is made from Whitehall into the Hudson, then that vessel of 1,000 tons can proceed on to the city of New York, take in a back cargo, and go back to her destination without breaking bulk. And it is this back cargo, this return cargo, that makes the downward freight in all cases cheap, for if you go empty, the one voyage has to pay for two, but if you get a back cargo then you have freights reduced to the lowest possible point. Then, again, the lockages. By the one route, 609 feet with 68 locks, and by the Champlain route, 391 feet, with 44 locks, a difference of 281 feet lockage and 24 locks. In other words, the whole system of canals from the interior lakes will be as 590 is to 500. Five hundred miles of river and lake and 90 of canal to get into the Hudson river. Now, I heard, as stated in a report to-day, that the average rate of speed by a railway, with mixed trains, is five miles an hour. Our propellers, at present navigating our lakes, sail at least ten. I know some which sail $11\frac{1}{2}$ on the lakes. On the river and downward rapids the rate of speed will not be less, so that those vessels of 1,000 tons will make the passage almost as quick as suggested in the improved railway. The cost of freight—it is impossible to tell what that will be. That depends on the crops a good deal. The cost will, no doubt, under those circumstances, be less than is possible to be in any smaller vessel, as I have stated already. When this vessel of 1,000 tons is made, instead of 350 ton vessels that now go to Oswego through the Welland Canal, the change will be very great. I have no doubt it will be one-half. These opinions of mine are thoroughly endorsed by the gentlemen composing the Committee of the Senate last year, of which the Hon. Mr. Windham was Chairman. I will just read a short extract in that report in proof of this:

“From all points of the Mississippi river, between Minneapolis, Minn., and Quincy, Ills., the average railway rate to lake ports in 1872 was 17 cents per bushel of 60 pounds. From Chicago to New York by rail, the average charge during that year was $43\frac{1}{2}$ cents per bushel, and the average rate by water was 26 6-10 cents per bushel, making the all rail charges through from the Mississippi river to New York $50\frac{1}{2}$ cents, and the rail and water charges, exclusive of terminals, 43 6-11 cents per bushel. It is believed by those who have studied the subject, that the enlargement of the New York canals so as to pass boats of 600 to 1,000 tons will reduce the cost of transportation on that part of the line 50 per cent. The establishment of reciprocal trade relations with the Dominion of Canada, which shall include the construction of the Caughnawaga Canal, if such an arrangement can be made, and which shall encourage Canadian shipmasters to compete for the carrying trade of the lakes, will also materially cheapen the cost of transportation to New England. The evidence taken

by your Committee fully justifies the opinion that by the enlargement of the New York canals, the construction of the Caughnawaga Canal, and the use of the enlarged Canadian canals, the cost of transport from Chicago to Burlington, Vt., and to New York City, will not exceed from 12 to 15 cents per bushel, making the entire cost from the Mississippi river to Burlington, Vt., or to New York, not more than 22 cents per bushel, against the present cost of 43 6-10 cents by water, and 50½ cents by rail. We may, therefore, reasonably estimate that by the proposed improvements upon this route, a saving can be effected of 20 cents a bushel, or \$6.70 per ton on all the East tonnage between that river and the East. Elsewhere the Committee state that the actual movement of grain to the East and Southern markets in 1872 amounted to 213,000,000 bushels, and the annual saving of 20 cents per bushel moved that year would have amounted to \$42,000,000." Again he says: "The Committee believe that upon the completion of the enlargement of the Welland and St. Lawrence Canals, and the construction of the Caughnawaga Canal, wheat and corn can be transported from ports on Lake Superior and Michigan to Burlington, Vt., for 12 cents per bushel, and that the average cost of distribution by rail from the latter point to the consumers of New England need not exceed ten cents per bushel, making the entire cost of transportation 22 cents per bushel. The average freight charge during the last five years by rail from Chicago to Boston, has been about 39 cents per bushel. During the year 1872 the New England States received from the Western States 41,132,255 bushels of grain. Almost all of this immense supply was transported by rail. Assuming the average rail charge to be 37 cents, the saving in the cost of transport by the Northern water line would be 15 cents per bushel, and the total saving upon the quantity of grain above mentioned, would have amounted to \$6,169,834 in the year 1872. The Committee, however, can have no further recommendations as regards the Caughnawaga Canal, as it is within the Dominion of Canada, but they would express the hope that in the future, trade relations between the United States and the Dominion Government may be so adjusted that the construction of the work may be found to be in the interest of both countries."

I will just read a short extract of the opinion of WALTER SHANLY, who has lately succeeded in cutting through the Hoosac Tunnel. He says:

"That these commodities could be laid down more speedily and at lesser transportation charges in Lake Champlain, by way of the St. Lawrence, and Caughnawaga canals, than they could reach the New England border by way of Ogdensburg or Albany, is simply an incontestable proposition. The bulk of the business now takes the Erie canal route, and compared with it, the Caughnawaga could certainly show a gain in point of time of not less than six days, and in point of expenses of not less than twenty-five per cent. as between Chicago and Albany on the one hand, and Chicago, and say Burlington, on the other. New England will have her food supplies from the west whether we carry them for her

or not, but assuredly, she will not object to our carrying them, provided we can do the business with better dispatch and more cheaply than others can, and the producers in the west will be equally ready on the same conditions to entrust the transportation business to Canadian carriers."

I might refer you to other quotations from other engineers, especially McAlpine, who is very decided indeed in reference to the route. He says, in one of his reports, of the Lakes, the Welland and St. Lawrence canals:

"From the computation we have made, it will be seen that the cost of transport to New York, by way of the St. Lawrence, and proposed Caughnawaga canal, and enlarging Champlain canal, for ordinary vessels, is less than by way of Oswego. The Champlain route, thus improved, will have the further advantage, of the more economic use of vessels of the largest class, proceeding from any port on the Lakes directly to New York, without breaking bulk, and also the diminished length of the canal navigation by that route."

This canal was first surveyed by an American engineer by the name of Mills, who projected the Canadian canals when first originated. It was then surveyed by Jervis, of New York, then by Colonel Swift, of Boston, and then by three Canadian engineers. The route now fixed upon is shown by a map I have laid on the table. There is, therefore, no difference of opinion now as regards the capacity of the canal. It was opposed for many years, and especially at that meeting at Saratoga by my Montreal friends who believed it was going to take away the trade from Montreal. I differed with them, and have differed since, and there is now quite an agreement in opinion in regard to that. They now see that I was right, and that a canal, with ninety-five feet lockage instead of twenty-five feet, which is a difference of level between Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence, would have been its ruin, and fortunately it was not done. Now, Mr. Chairman, so much for the water route. I would refer to what we are doing in reference to railways in Canada. We have, as you are aware, the Grand Trunk Railway, but up to this time we have never had a mile of railway on the north shore of the St. Lawrence. Those roads were commenced about eighteen months ago, one from Quebec up towards Montreal, on the north shore, and the other from Montreal going up the valley of the Ottawa. The contractors, in the first instance, not having been able to carry that out, the Quebec Government is now taking it up and has a bill before the house, under which it will furnish the means to carry on these works. It is intended to carry them on with a view of ultimately reaching Sault St. Marie. Any one looking at the map will see that from Sault St. Marie there is a direct line to Montreal, and that line touches the north of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. That line will be found to the City of Montreal and the seaboard, a saving of nearly five hundred miles nearer than any other seaboard on the continent of America. I may say, I have thought also of a charter of a bridge across the St. Lawrence in connection with these railways, at a place called St. Dennis, in the city of Montreal, whereby freight and passengers, will be carried over it from all these western

places, and where the distance to Portland, Boston and New York will be several hundred miles less than by any other route from these northern ports. I mention all these things for the purpose of showing how necessary it is, that while we would use your railways and your canals, and you use ours that we should be trying to pull together in having everything arranged in such a manner between ourselves; the great rivalry being, of course, who shall build up on this continent the best people and best institutions. When, in my opinion, the great advantages which the several routes develop in a proper manner will be guaranteed by both governments, and reciprocal relations guaranteed."

Mr. HARRIS, of Kentucky, introduced an elaborate series of resolutions upon the general subject of Cheap Transportation, which were referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

A voluminous paper on terminal charges at Chicago was submitted, and referred to a Special Committee, of which Mr. HARRIS was Chairman. As the paper was pronounced inaccurate and unjust by the Committee, it is omitted.

A resolution in favor of narrow-gauge railroads was introduced and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. THURBER then read the Treasurer's Report. He stated that last year, the amount collected at the Richmond Convention was hardly enough to balance the expenditure. The Treasurer was recommended to keep his expenses within proportions. In regard to the expenses of this Convention there is stationery, postage, telegraphing, advertising, stenographer, printing the Proceedings, etc. Mr. THURBER estimated the amount wanted at \$487.50. Last year the expenses exceeded that sum, but the Treasurer thought they can be kept within that, and that is about the amount that will be required.

On motion of Mr. BAKER, of New York, a Committee of Finance was appointed, one from each State represented at the Convention, to take measures to raise the amount necessary to pay the expenses of this Convention.

On motion the Report of the Secretary was taken from the table and adopted.

A motion to adjourn was adopted, and the Convention adjourned to Thursday morning at nine o'clock.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The Convention was called to order by Vice-President HENRY at 9 o'clock, pursuant to adjournment. Prayer was offered by Mr. MERWIN, of New York. Numerous resolutions were offered by delegates, all of which were referred to the Committee on Resolutions. The report of the Standing Committee on Artificial Water Routes was submitted by the chairman, COL. FROBEL, of Georgia, as follows:

Your Committee on Canal Routes would respectfully report, that since the last session of this Convention, the United States Congress has made unusually large appropriations for the several rivers which form parts of the great water routes recommended, namely for the improvement of the Mississippi; for the Ohio and Kanawha; for the opening of the Tennessee river at Muscle Shoals; and for the Fox river and Wisconsin Canal. These appropriations amounted to three or four million dollars.

Although none of the appropriations are sufficiently large, except that for the mouth of the Mississippi, to complete any one of the lines, still they are regarded as an inauguration of the great work so earnestly advocated by this association, and give us the assurance that the necessity which has so long been felt by the people for cheaper and more adequate means of transportation has at length impressed itself upon the Legislatures of the nation, that even the attention of Congress has been seriously attracted to the matter, and that time has been found amid the mighty political questions of the day to pay some heed to the necessity of relieving the wants of an impoverished and suffering people. There is hope in all this, and especially in their ability to spare a few hours from the discussion of the vast political issues of the last session and to devote a few hours to questions of practical importance to their constituents.

Much has already been accomplished by personal efforts, and we have faith in the omnipotence of work.

Your Committee earnestly recommend that there be no relaxation of these efforts; and that other and more effective steps be taken to make the complaints of the suffering people heard where they have not been heard before. We recommend that an Executive Committee be appointed for each State, and that this Committee be clothed with power to appoint such committees in any Congressional District; and that it may be made the duty of these committees to labor, that only such men as are sound upon great material issues of the day be intrusted with the matter of legislation for our people. That the question of making labor profitable, and with it, of restoring our commercial prosperity, and with that the financial status of the country, be made the leading issue in every campaign, and to see that the support of the friends of these measures be given only to such men as are pledged to labor for the proper settlement of these questions.

We believe that the people of the whole country are becoming well educated in the matter of these needs, and what we now require to insure

success is organization. We should see that our strength no longer be wasted. We therefore recommend:

1. That in addition to the great improvements already undertaken by the Government, that the Illinois and Mississippi Canal (formerly known as the Hennepin Canal) be undertaken by the Government at once.

2. That the State of New York be earnestly requested to complete a canal (of the capacity of the enlarged Welland Canal) from Oswego to the Hudson river, and that a committee of five be appointed to present each of the above recommendations to Congress and to the State of New York.

COL. B. W. FROBEL, Georgia.

C. S. CARRINGTON, Virginia.

WM. H. ABELL, New York.

LYMAN BRIDGES, Illinois.

WALDO M. POTTER, Iowa.

Committee on Artificial Water Routes.

The report was accepted, and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

At this point in the proceedings, his Excellency, Governor Beveridge, of Illinois, entered the hall, and was enthusiastically received. In response to an urgent call, he spoke as follows:

"The Northwest is the bread-producing region of the country. With a widely extending territory, rich and productive before the civilized man turned the sod, better after twenty centuries of civilization than the lands of old New England, with improved implements of industry—the plow, the drill, the planter, the mower, reaper and thrasher—such as steam is to navigation, or gunpowder to war, the Northwest will furnish food to the East and South, and feed the starving millions of the Old World. In fifty years there will be 50,000,000 people in the great valley of the Mississippi. This mighty people will never be cut off from the sea. The lakes will be the great highway to the sea. The object of the Convention is to discuss transportation, and I speak on behalf of the Northwest and of the entire nation. I believe that the people are in favor of removing every obstruction in the Mississippi River, and making it nature's great outlet to the sea and the lands beyond. I believe all would like to see this improvement. We are all interested in the transportation by the lakes to the East. You must build warehouses equal to your commerce. Leave it not to the railroads for they will carry the grain on the tracks. Build them yourselves. When spring comes we can then forward to you of the East, the abundance we have stored up in the winter.

"Mr. President and gentlemen, I thank you for your attention. I hope while you are here your time will be agreeably spent, and when you go home I hope you will carry away pleasant memories of the city and its commerce, and of the fair State of Illinois."

The address was received with applause. The Chair responded happily on behalf of the Convention. He heartily thanked his Excellency for the encouraging remarks he had made and the kind spirit in which he made them. The interests of the East and West, he said, in this matter of cheap transportation, were identical. He looked for some relief from the present oppressive system under which the agricultural labor of the country groaned, and for his own part would like to see the Erie canal deepened for the passage of the lake marine, also a double-track railroad built between the East and West which would not be closed during the winter.

At twelve o'clock, sharp, the Convention adjourned for the day, and

proceeded in a body to the Chamber of Commerce, in accordance with the invitation of the Board of Trade. The President of that body, Mr. GEORGE ARMOUR, welcomed the Delegates on behalf of his associates, in a few well-chosen words, closing by introducing Mr. HENRY to the Board of Trade, who spoke with business-like brevity, returning cordial thanks for the attention shown the Convention, and for the coming banquet of the evening. From there the Delegates went to the Union Stock Yards on a tour of inspection.

In the evening, the Delegates partook of the sumptuous banquet provided at the Grand Pacific Hotel. Seats for three hundred persons were provided, including not only the Delegate guests, but many eminent citizens of Chicago who were not members of the Convention. The toasts of the evening were prefaced appropriately by Governor Beveridge as follows:

"The American Continent—its discovery and settlement is mainly attributable to commercial enterprise, whose star of empire shines resplendent in the West. Upon its soil was first legally displayed the spirit of universal freedom and equal political and religious rights. May its governments, though varied in form and character, forever preserve the elements of true liberty; to be of the people, by the people and for the people; may they be powerful to redress the wrong and to suppress the vicious outgrowth of tyrannical monopolies in whatever disguise such vicious outgrowth may appear. May they, each and all of them, work together to advance the public weal, and shield the American at home and abroad, with even more than a Roman indemnity, from vulgar abuse by the truthful assertion: "I am an American citizen."

To this sentiment Hon. JOHN DOUGHERTY, of Illinois, responded. Gov. BEVERIDGE then introduced the second regular toast:

Cheap Transportation—The key to the supremacy of our modern civilization upon the American continent—to its wealth, peace, prosperity, and progress in all future time.

Which was responded to by JOHN F. HENRY and FRANCIS B. THURBER, of New York. The third toast was:

Our Guests—We welcome them to this breaking of bread in commemoration of the blessings always attendant on united action for the general good.

This was responded to by G. G. BENEDICT, of Vermont, on behalf of the North; Col. PEYTON, of Virginia, on behalf of the South; H. I. CHAPMAN, of Portland, Oregon, on behalf of the Far West, and Dr. BERNARD, of Montreal, for the Far North. This closed the regular toasts, and the usual line of volunteer toasts were proposed, and the company dispersed at a late hour, evidently delighted with the proceedings of the second day's session.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The Convention was called to order at half past nine o'clock by Hon. J. Y. SCAMMON, of Illinois, who asked Rev. Dr. SULLIVAN to open the proceedings with prayer. Vice-President HENRY then took the chair and occupied it as usual during the remainder of the session.

Mr. BAKER, of New York, presented an abstract from the minutes of the Cheap Transportation Association of New York, held December 7, setting forth that the time had come for the construction of a double-track railroad from the grain-producing sections of the West to the Atlantic seaboard. Referred to the Committee on Resolutions. •

Mr. ANDERSON, of Illinois, introduced a resolution, which was referred to the same committee, and which set forth that the improvement of the Illinois river, the great connecting line in water communication of the great lakes and the Mississippi river, is a subject well worthy of the attention of this Convention, and the fostering care of the United States Congress, demanding such appropriations as will insure its early completion.

On motion of Mr. CAMP, of Illinois, it was decided not to receive any resolutions for reference after half-past 10 o'clock.

Gov. DOUGHERTY and Mr. FLAGG, of Illinois, introduced resolutions endorsing the improvement of the Mississippi river, especially at the mouth, by Capt. EADS' jetty system. Mr. PHELPS, of Illinois, introduced a resolution to the effect that railroads, with all their faults, are one of the chief corner-stones of commercial prosperity.

A Committee of five was appointed to suggest a place for the next meeting of the Convention. Louisville, Kentucky, was selected, and the selection approved. The committee consisted of Messrs. WOLFOLK, of Kentucky, WATROUS, of New York, BIGELOW, of Vermont, BROSS, of Illinois, and PEYTON, of Virginia.

Mr. A. B. MILLER, of New York, spoke in favor of the construction of a double-track railway, under Government control, from the Atlantic seaboard to the principal producing points of the West.

Instead of reproducing that speech, as was intended, it is thought best to present the following Memorial of the American Board of Transportation and Commerce, in behalf of the construction of a Double-Track

Freight Railway from the Seaboard to the West, prepared subsequent to adjournment and in accordance with instruction from the Convention:

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled:

The undersigned, a Committee appointed by the American Board of Transportation and Commerce, at its Annual Convention, held in the City of Chicago, State of Illinois, on the 15th day of December, 1875, for the purpose of making known to your Honorable Bodies, not only the result of its deliberations, but also to urge the necessity of immediate action at your hands, respectfully call your attention to the resolutions adopted at that Convention, which are as follows:

Resolved—That the great and pressing need of this country is a system of Transportation commensurate with the requirements of the age in which we live; that the absence of such a system is, in a great measure, the cause of the present unsatisfactory state of trade and commerce; the reason why our mills and manufactories are idle; why our agricultural interests are unremunerative, and why thousands of willing hands lack employment.

Resolved—That the presence of a metallic currency is the result of commercial prosperity, and not the cause of that prosperity. To restore this circulation, it is only necessary for us to supply the means of exporting our grain, flour and bacon, tobacco, cotton, oil and other products, at prices which will enable us to sell those products in the markets of other countries. This will give us commercial prosperity, and its evidence will be a gold circulation. With the return of commercial prosperity, all questions relating to the value of different kinds of currency will disappear.

Resolved—That this consummation can be reached by providing an adequate system of Transportation, and that the only way such a system can be provided is by the co-operation of the people through the machinery of government; that the boundaries of commerce have become so extended through the agencies of steam and electricity, that a new and more extensive class of transportation facilities are needed; that the present system has become not only inadequate to the necessities of the times, but it is so filled with defects and abuses that it dwarfs production, stifles commerce, and prevents us from successfully competing in the markets of the world.

Resolved—That corporate power embodied in our transportation lines has become so organized, consolidated and combined, that it is now able to dictate values to the producers, prices to the consumers, and profits to the manufacturers and trades, and to build up a privileged class contrary to the spirit of the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved—That the further extension of this power must be opposed by the mass of the people by creating, as fast as possible, a new system of transportation lines, which will insure competition and thus protect the public interest.

Resolved—That as a means to this end, the national government should, as speedily as possible, undertake the construction of the lines of transportation recommended by the United States Senate Committee on transportation routes, or such of them as, after survey, promise the most favorable results.

Resolved—That a national railway, exclusively for freight should be constructed, from the grain-growing sections of the West to the Atlantic seaboard, to the end that this great territory, with its dense population, and the principal distributing cities both of the East and the West, may not be wholly at the mercy of existing railroads, when water routes are closed by ice.

Resolved—That if it be deemed inexpedient to have this road constructed and owned by the National Government, the object may be reached by granting national aid to such road, and assuming, in consideration thereof, such supervision and control as will insure reasonable rates of freight, and forever prevent combination and consolidation with existing lines, and the abuses in the construction and management which pervade our present railway system and so heavily tax the commercial and consuming public at this time.

The Committee, your memorialists, further beg leave to say that the Convention they have the honor to represent was composed of no less than three hundred delegates, from eighteen States, and representing every section of the Union, comprising, amongst its members, representatives of the agricultural, mining, manufacturing, commercial and other interests. Yet, with all of this diversity of pursuits, there was an entire unanimity of opinion as to the main cause of that existing depression, and, in some cases, entire suppression of the industrial pursuits and business interests that now prevails throughout our land, which is fairly and forcibly expressed in the resolutions as given above.

Your memorialists desire to say that, while they are not to be understood as making an indiscriminate war upon any just rights of existing railways, they respectfully beg leave to direct the attention of your Honorable Bodies to the vast aggregations of capital, together with the overwhelming influence that has been acquired within a few years by the consolidation and combinations of railway corporations, which are wielded and controlled with almost despotic power by comparatively few individuals—a power that levies, at its will, a tax upon the productions of this nation, amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars annually; a power that frequently increases or diminishes this tax arbitrarily, upon the producing interests of the country, amounting to differences of many millions of dollars within a few months, thereby causing fluctuations in value to such an extent, and so capriciously, as to baffle all ordinary business calculations, often causing wide-spread disaster and ruin to the community; a power recognizing no real responsibility to the Government, either State or National, or to the people, thereby inciting alarm and distrust, thus checking enterprise and the development of the resources of the nation—in short, a power so absolute and exacting that, if attempted to be exercised in like manner by the government of any civilized nation, would, in the opinion of your memorialists, lead to its immediate overthrow.

Your memorialists would further say that the evils complained of have reached their present formidable and intolerable character after many years of intrigue and manipulation on the part of the various railway corporations, and, in the general attention given by the people at large to their private affairs, have been passively submitted to; but the time has at last arrived when, smarting under a just sense of the disasters and suffering resulting from the depressing and unwise policy of those that manage and control our railways, the people are rising in their might and forming organizations throughout the length and breadth of the land, for the purpose of securing, from their National and State representatives, such

legislation as shall relieve them from the arbitrary exactions and oppressive rule of railroad corporations, whose power has become too formidable to be controlled by their peaceful, unaided efforts.

Your memorialists would most respectfully but firmly urge upon Congress the necessity of adopting such measures as, in their wisdom, are necessary in the speedy relief of our hitherto patient and long suffering people; and, to the attainment of that end, beg leave to suggest that, in their opinion, as well as that of the Convention they represent, as expressed in its resolutions, that the construction by the government or the extension of its aid to the building of a double-track railroad, exclusively or mainly for freight, extending from the Atlantic seaboard to Chicago, St. Louis, Omaha, and such other interior commercial cities as may be deemed necessary, would effectually remedy the evils under which we are suffering, provided the road is built under such restrictions as shall prevent any speculation in its construction, or any consolidation or combination with other roads when built, with a charter so framed that it can never become an instrument in the hands of bold and unscrupulous speculators to serve their interests, indifferent to or independent of the rights and reasonable demands of the public; giving to the people, through the government, a voice in its management, and providing for reasonable and fixed rates of transportation.

Your memorialists believe that the construction of one such trunk line of railway would demonstrate the possibility of transporting the products of our country, as well as those of foreign origin, at less than one-half the average charge hitherto made, and would not only cause all competing roads to conform their charges thereto, but would secure to the producing and business interests of the country reliably uniform and non-discriminating rates.

Your memorialists, firmly convinced of the truth of the statements herein contained, cannot but indulge the hope that an enlightened sense of the necessities of the people will induce your Honorable Bodies to adopt such measures as in their wisdom may be deemed necessary.

C. C. STURTEVANT, Minnesota,
J. H. OSBORN, Wisconsin,
W. C. FLAGG, Illinois,
L. P. MILLIGAN, Indiana,
R. G. PENNINGTON, Ohio,
A. B. MILLER, New York,
Committee.

The Committee on Permanent Organization reported as follows:

President—John F. Henry, of New York.

Vice-Presidents—Joseph Utley, Illinois; James R. Anderson, Virginia; Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Massachusetts; J. Nelson Harris, Kentucky; G. S. Houston, Alabama; P. L. Weaver, California; J. D. Adams, Arkansas; Col. W. H. Greenwood, Colorado; J. S. Barbour, District Columbia; B. P. Baker, New York; J. R. Thrall, Florida; J. Irwin Martin, Missouri; Hon. J. M. Smith, Georgia; J. B. Hymer, Indiana; J. K. Hornish, Iowa; J. J. Irby, Louisiana; J. R. Herbert, Maryland; William Windom, Minnesota; Emmett L. Ross, Mississippi; J. L. Bridgeman, New Hampshire; N. McConanghy, New Jersey; Amasa Cobb, Nebraska;

Z. Vance, North Carolina; C. G. Menninger, South Carolina; W. P. Jones, Tennessee; S. R. Anderson, Maine; F. C. Kennedy, Vermont; J. McClure, West Virginia; J. W. Hoyt, Wisconsin; H. I. Chapman, Oregon; the Hon. Henry Johnson, Pennsylvania; Hon. Charles Robinson, Kansas; L. T. Hunt, Ohio; A. L. Catlin, Texas; A. H. Milroy, Washington Territory; E. B. Creras, Dakota; F. C. Capreol, Canada; A. C. Wolford, Montana; Gen. J. A. Hawley, Connecticut; Elisha Dyer, Rhode Island; Hon. R. C. McCormick, Arizona; J. L. Jackson, Delaware.

Treasurer—F. B. Thurber, New York.

Secretary—Frank Gilbert, Chicago.

Assistant Secretary—H. A. Stolenwolks, Selma, Alabama.

Executive Committee—J. F. Henry, F. B. Thurber, James Utley, Frank Gilbert, and H. A. Stolenwolks.

The report was unanimously adopted.

Resolutions of thanks were then offered. The absent President, JOSIAH QUINCY, was duly remembered, also the retiring Secretary, R. H. FERGUSON, and the acting President, J. F. HENRY; gratitude to the Board of Trade, JOHN B. DRAKE and his associates of the Grand Pacific, and the Michigan Southern Railroad Company, for their generous kindness, was duly expressed.

The Convention then adjourned until two o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention was called to order at the designated hour by the Chair. The first order of business was the presentation of the report of the Committee on Resolutions. There were two reports, a majority and a minority. The former was presented by the chairman, Mr. THURBER, as follows:

Resolved, That the great and pressing need of this country is a system of transportation commensurate with the requirements of the age in which we live; that the absence of such a system is, in a great measure, the cause of the present unsatisfactory state of trade and commerce, the reason why our mills and manufactories are idle, why our agricultural interests are unremunerative, and why thousands of willing hands lack employment.

Resolved, That the presence of a metallic currency is the result of commercial prosperity, and not the cause of that prosperity; to restore this circulation it is only necessary for us to employ the means of exporting our grain, flour, bacon, cotton, tobacco, oil, and other products at prices which will enable us to use those products of other countries; this will give a commercial prosperity, and its evidence will be a gold circulation; with the return of commercial prosperity, all questions relating to one value of different kinds of currency will disappear.

Resolved, That this consummation can be reached by providing an adequate system of transportation, and that the only way such a system can be provided is by the co-operation of the people, through the machinery of Government; that the boundaries of commerce have become so extended

through the agencies of steam and electricity, that a new and more extensive class of transportation facilities are needed; that the present system has become not only inadequate to the necessities of the times, but is so filled with defects and abuses that it dwarfs production, stifles commerce, and prevents us from successfully competing in the markets of the world.

Resolved, That the corporate power embodied in our transportation lines has become so organized, consolidated and combined, that it is now able to dictate values to the producers, prices to the consumers, and profits to the manufacturers and trades, and to build up a privileged class contrary to the spirit of the constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That the further extension of this power must be opposed by the means of the people, by creating, as fast as possible, a new system of transportation lines, which will insure competition, and thus protect the public interests.

Resolved, That as a means to this end the National Government should, as speedily as possible, undertake the construction of lines of transportation recommended by the United States Senate Committee on Transportation Routes, or such of them as, after survey, produce the most favorable results.

Resolved, That a national railway, exclusively for freight, should be constructed from the grain-growing sections of the West to the Atlantic seaboard, to the end that this great territory, with its dense population, and the principal distributing cities both of the East and the West, may not be wholly at the mercy of existing railroads, when water routes are closed by ice.

Resolved, That if it be deemed inexpedient to have this road constructed and owned by the National Government, that the object may be reached by granting national aid to such a road, and assuming, in consideration thereof, such supervision and control as will insure reasonable rates of freight, forever prevent combination and consolidation with existing lines, and the abuses in construction and management which pervade our present railway system and so heavily tax the commercial and consuming public at this time.

Resolved, That whenever national aid is extended to any project in the way of internal improvement, or whenever the construction of any work is undertaken by Government, that the work should be done by contract, in small sections, to the lowest responsible bidder.

Resolved, That a committee of seven persons, familiar with and interested in water transportation, and a committee of equal number who are dependent upon improved railway facilities for cheap transportation, be appointed to present copies of these resolutions to the Congress of the United States, and to take such other steps to forward the objects therein advocated, as may be in their power.

Resolved, That the internal commerce of the United States has not, in the past, received that consideration at the hands of our National Government that its importance merits; that, exceeding in magnitude, as it does, our foreign commerce, in the ratio of more than ten to one, it is entitled to the most careful consideration and fostering care.

Resolved, That, in pursuance of this policy, a memorial to Congress, from this Convention, be prepared, asking that a joint committee from both Houses of Congress be appointed to consider the advisability of forming a new department of our national Government, to be called the Department of Internal Commerce; said department to be specially charged with the collection, preservation, and dissemination of information bearing upon transportation, and with all other matters pertaining to internal commerce. The joint committee, before mentioned, to investigate the subject and report at the next session of Congress.

Resolved, That we recommend the several States to enact the following laws for the regulation of railways chartered by them:

First—A law providing a Board of Railroad Commissioners to obtain, preserve and circulate information bearing upon transportation, with power to prescribe a uniform system of keeping railway accounts, and with other powers and duties similar to those possessed by the Railway Commissioners of Massachusetts.

Second—A law to prevent stock inflation.

Third—A law prohibiting representatives of the people from being retained or employed as agents, attorneys, or counsel in any case where the public interest is involved.

Fourth—A law providing a uniform classification of merchandise, and prohibiting the printing of conditions on bills of lading issued by common carriers, which are designed to evade the just responsibility of such carriers.

Fifth—A general law, or constitutional prohibition, against the consolidation of railroads, by which the power of these great corporations are often greatly increased, and their proper control and regulation prevented.

Resolved, That we have no warfare to make upon any of the great industries of the country, but, on the contrary, the very object of the Convention is to promote peace and harmony among them by securing an equitable distribution of the benefits and burdens of life, without which there can be no permanent harmony of interest. As the offices of all the members of the human body are essential to its perfect vitality and vigor, so are all these interests essential to a country that would be great and prosperous. It is the true interest of all to promote the interest of each other, and our best policy will be found in the union of all the great industries of the land, for the sake of national peace and national prosperity.

ORGANIZATION.

Resolved, That for the purpose of effecting a more perfect organization, an Executive Committee be appointed for each State, consisting of a number equal to the representation of said State in the Federal Congress.

Resolved, That the said Executive Committee shall have power to appoint sub-committees in each Congressional district in their respective States.

Resolved, That it shall be the duties of these several committees to collect and disseminate such information in their several States and districts as may aid in procuring proper legislation upon this all-important matter of transportation, and that their efforts and aims shall be to procure for our people the cheapest means possible.

Resolved, That it shall be the duty of the Sub-Committee to correspond with the Executive Committees of the States, and the State Executive Committees with the National Executive Committee of this body, so that there may be uniformity of purpose and action between the whole.

Resolved, That when this Convention adjourns, it be to meet in October, 1876, at Louisville, Ky.

Resolved, That your Committee further recommend the adoption of the resolutions introduced by the Hon. William Bross, in this Convention, relating to deep-water communication between the great Western lakes and New York City, by the way of Lake Champlain and the Caughnawaga Ship-Canal.

This report was signed by all the Committee, (for a full list of which see page 30), except Messrs. Carpenter, Cobb and Daniels, who made the following minority report:

“The undersigned, a minority of the Committee on Resolutions, respectfully submit the following Report:

The undersigned by no means underrate the importance of unanimity, for the maxim that “in union there is strength,” is worth every reasonable

exertion to secure it, and on this account many gentlemen have waived objections that did not impeach the integrity of well-grounded convictions on great questions of public import; yet, with naught but the kindest feelings towards our brother members of the Committee, and cherishing the policy that they are honest and sincere in this conviction, the undersigned, nevertheless, are constrained by a sense of duty that cannot be shirked, without, in their opinion, doing injustice to one of the most important subjects that has agitated the public mind, touching the question of Cheap Transportation. The resolution which was referred to the Committee on the subject of restrictive control, reads as follows:

“*Resolved*—That in the opinion of this Board, railway restriction is both practicable and expedient, and that the mode, or principle of restriction, ought, in justice to all concerned, to be based on a reasonable maximum per cent., *net*, of a fair valuation of the property (not to exceed ten per cent.), and that the principle of application, when the *net* receipts shall exceed the determined per cent., should be a pro rata restriction, on all classes alike.”

It is not contended, so far as the undersigned know or believe, that arbitrary commodity restriction has, in any case yet adopted, proved satisfactory to any interest concerned. Such restriction claims not the merit of any knowledge to warrant the interference in the manner exercised. Being arbitrary, and founded on no officially known facts, it is likely to be as it probably is, oppressive on the new, or smaller roads, and yet far below the rate of restriction that ought to be enforced as to the older and more powerful trunk lines.

The resolution proposes a remedy for this by encouraging official investigation of the actual amount of operating expenses, and, above all, the actual amount of receipts, a mode which the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, in his able address before the late Oshkosh Fair, declared would be victory itself, when consummated.

The undersigned charge no specific cases of wrong or suppression of receipts. No individual road is, by the undersigned, arraigned, but we cannot overlook the fact that in the investigation of the New York and other Legislatures, not to omit the investigation by the British bondholders of the Erie railway, etc., gross “irregularities” have been officially pointed out, and the whole country is not unmindful of the facts that they are laboring under the evils of this and kindred high-priced calamities. If we would cure the disease, we must, with a manly courage, strike at the cause. In vain will the people tax themselves to build new and expensive roadways as outlets for the products of industry, if they refuse to put up barriers to prevent the absorption of the new trunks, by and through the process of “Watered” stocks, with which, without the addition of real dollars, they buy up the securities of competing lines, and thus, after our money is expended in their construction, they are swept away from our control, and instead of becoming aid-de-camps of our commerce, and lessening our expenses, they actually become engines of oppression.

This resolution calls for no outlay of capital. It inaugurates not innovation on vested or any other rights. It only provides for securing a *knowledge* on which to base restrictive action or refrain from it. If the various roads do actually report their actual cost—if they report truly their operative expenses—if they give us *all* their actual receipts, then the undersigned is of the opinion that they should not be restricted, for so far as known to us, no roads report a net of 10 per cent. But if it shall turn out, upon official investigation, which this resolution seeks, that the true cost is much less than that reputed, that stocks have been heavily loaded with the fiction of what is called “Water,” as a basis for more onerous exactions of the people, if it should turn out that operating expenses were blended with construction accounts, and *vice versa*, as a basis for still

greater exactions, and if it shall be disclosed that a large proportion of the actual receipts are suppressed from the public eye, and often passes the notice of those who may have furnished the capital, that if these things should be disclosed, then who will, or can, in honor or justice say that the remedy proposed should not be applied?

The whole thing has no greater effect, so far as this Board is concerned, than a mere recommendation to those interested, to file "bills of discovery." It is no imputation on honest men in a crowd when pockets have been picked, to propose a search, nor can a search harm the innocent, but as to those *proven* guilty, who can have objections to the mode of discovery?

The undersigned know of no other way to eject the "water" from out railway securities, which is now a prominent and an oppressive factor in the unjust demands upon the people, than by the mode proposed.

For the above, and many other cogent reasons which might be urged if time permitted, the undersigned respectfully, yet most urgently ask the adoption of the aforesaid resolution.

The minority report, already referred to, was then submitted, and on motion of Mr. WATROUS, of New York, both reports were accepted, and pending their adoption, which was by sections, no member was allowed to speak more than once or longer than ten minutes on any motion.

Gov. DOUGHERTY moved to lay the minority report on the table, which was done by a vote of 153 to 24.

The first resolution of the majority report was adopted without debate. The second occasioned an animated discussion. Mr. SCAMMON protested against it as being irrelevant. Messrs. THURBER, FROBEL and CUMMINGS advocated it as sound in doctrine and pertinent to the subject of cheap transportation. The resolution was adopted. The fourth, fifth and sixth resolutions were adopted without debate.

The seventh resolution occasioned some discussion on the constitutional question of whether Congress could grant the right of way for a railroad through a State. Col. PEYTON insisted that it could not. Mr. CARTER, of Illinois, said that it would be impossible to get Congress to exercise that power. It was agreed that the Convention was not called upon to pass judgment upon points of constitutional law, and the resolution was adopted as read.

In connection with the resolution on internal commerce, Mr. UTLEY, of Illinois, spoke as follows:

"I have listened to the remarks made by the gentlemen from New York, upon the subject of railroad freights, with much pleasure. I am aware, gentlemen, that within the past few years there have been very many and important improvements made and a gradual reduction in the price of transportation by rail, and I devoutly hope that the prediction of the gentleman from New York, will speedily become a matter of fact, and through freights be carried at the rate of six or seven mills per ton per mile. But I beg leave to remind the gentlemen that the producers of the Northwest do not complain of the cost of transportation from the lakes to the seaboard, but do bitterly complain of the prices charged from interior and local points to the great lakes. It must be remembered that not five

per cent. of the surplus products of the country reach our railroads at terminal points. In other words, more than ninety-five per cent. of these products pay local rates before reaching competing points on the water routes to the ocean. I must dissent from the conclusion of the gentlemen from New York, that improvements in railway transportation will reduce the cost to a point as low, or lower, than the same freights can be profitably carried by water on canals and improved rivers.

“Actual experiments seem to have settled this question beyond dispute, as will be seen by the following extract from a sworn statement made by the main trunk lines and some of the lateral roads in New York, for 1874:

New York & Erie Railroad, average charge per ton per mile.....	1. $\frac{31}{100}$
New York & Erie Railroad, actual average cost per ton per mile.....	1. $\frac{10}{100}$
New York Central & Hudson Railroad, average charge per ton per mile,	1. $\frac{47}{100}$
New York Central & Hudson Railroad, actual average cost, per ton per mile.....	1. $\frac{28}{100}$
Lake Shore & Michigan Southern, average charge per ton per mile....	1. $\frac{28}{100}$
Lake Shore & Michigan Southern, actual average cost per ton per mile...	1. $\frac{10}{100}$
Boston & Albany Railroad, average charge per ton per mile.....	1. $\frac{82}{100}$
Boston & Albany Railroad, actual average cost per ton per mile.....	1. $\frac{10}{100}$
Albany & Susquehannah Railroad, average charge per ton per mile....	2. $\frac{100}{100}$
Albany & Susquehannah Railroad, actual average cost per ton per mile,	1. $\frac{68}{100}$
Syracuse & Binghamton Railroad, average charge per ton per mile....	1. $\frac{24}{100}$
Syracuse & Binghamton Railroad, actual average cost per ton per mile,	1. $\frac{75}{100}$
Rome, Watertown & Ogdensburg Railroad, average charge per ton per mile.....	2. $\frac{85}{100}$
Rome, Watertown & Ogdensburg Railroad, actual average cost per ton per mile.....	2. $\frac{49}{100}$
New York, Oswego & Midland Railroad, average charge per ton per mile.....	2. $\frac{85}{100}$
New York, Oswego & Midland Railroad, actual average cost, per ton per mile.....	2. $\frac{39}{100}$

“Within the past few years changes of great importance have been taking place upon our lakes and canals; changes which I doubt not will, in the near future, produce a further reduction in the cost of transportation. I refer to the improvement in our lake marine and steam upon the canals.

“The following tables, compiled from official sources, show the charges per ton per mile for transporting freight on the most important New York railroads and canals:

1856.	
New York Central Railroad.....	2. $\frac{97}{100}$
New York & Erie Railroad.....	2. $\frac{48}{100}$
New York Canals.....	1. $\frac{10}{100}$
1860.	
New York Central Railroad.....	2. $\frac{6}{100}$
New York & Erie Railroad.....	1. $\frac{84}{100}$
New York Canals.....	1. $\frac{10}{100}$
1865.	
New York Central Railroad.....	3. $\frac{8}{100}$
New York & Erie Railroad.....	2. $\frac{16}{100}$
New York Canals.....	1. $\frac{10}{100}$

1870.

New York Central Railroad.....	1.86
New York & Erie Railroad.....	1.87
New York Canals.....	1.88

1874.

New York Central Railroad.....	1.47
New York & Erie Railroad.....	1.81
New York Canals.....	1.86

"It will be noted that this statement is not based upon particular times or years, when, on account of active competition, railroads and canals carried freight at remarkably low rates; nor during suspension of navigation, when railroads charged high rates, but the actual average charges paid by the people per ton per mile for both local and through freights. It is believed that the improvement made within the last year will reduce the cost of freight on the New York canals to the low price of five mills per ton per mile. In fact, during the last summer, steamers on the Erie Canal have carried wheat from Buffalo to Troy, a distance of three hundred and fifty miles, for five and a half cents a bushel, or about one and a half cents per bushel for each hundred miles. When the full reports for the year 1875 are completed, it will show another material reduction in the cost of freights on canals.

"I, sir, do not wish to be understood as opposed to the further construction of railroads, or as believing that canals can, or ever will, supersede them. I do not advocate the construction of long and expensive canals through mountain gorges and over high elevations, particularly when the supply of water on the summit is doubtful and the construction expensive. But I do believe that short canals like the proposed Illinois & Mississippi River Canal, connecting the great lakes with the 15,000 miles of steamboat navigation on the Mississippi, and its branches, is of vast importance to the commercial interests of our country. Lines for the transportation of freight, absolutely in the hands of the people, where their management can be simple and economical, are, in my judgment, the only solution of the great question of cheap transportation so earnestly demanded by the producing classes."

The resolutions relating to organization were then adopted, and the report was then adopted as a whole.

Mr. THURBER said the report of the Railroad Committee was reported back slightly amended, omitting some personal allusions. The report was adopted.

THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC.

The Committee on Resolutions referred back the resolution in favor of Thomas Scott's project, without recommendation.

Mr. HARRIS moved that the following be substituted for the resolution in the hands of the Committee:

Resolved, That the early completion of the Texas Pacific Railway, in whatever way and by whatever means shall, in the wisdom of our statesmen and legislators, be considered best for the permanent interests of all citizens and all sections, will result directly or indirectly in substantial good

to the whole country, by reason of its being a much needed part of a national system of adequate transportation facilities.

Mr. FLAGG opposed the construction of this road, in any way, unless it should be controlled by the Government.

Mr. FERGUSON said the resolution was simply an indorsement of Tom Scott's scheme, and he protested against the Convention countenancing it. If they gave Tom Scott this line, no matter what restrictions were in the charter, he would find some way of getting them removed at the last moment. He [Mr. F.] was willing to give the South every facility.

Mr. HARRIS—"Show it, then."

Mr. FERGUSON—"I would go as far as having the Texas Pacific built by the Government.

Mr. HARRIS—"So will I."

Mr. FERGUSON—"Then say so in the amendment."

Mr. HARRIS—"The amendment says by whatever way and whatever means."

Mr. FERGUSON—"Well, he will take it there and get it through, and say we indorsed it."

The substitute was referred to the Committee on Railroads.

The report of the Canal Committee was taken up and adopted.

Mr. SCAMMON offered the following:

Resolved, That we are in favor of completing both the Northern and Southern Pacific Railroads, as soon as the means for the completion of the same can be properly made available.

Some discussion ensued, the gentlemen from the South claiming that their section of the country was not receiving proper recognition. In reply to this, the improvements given the south were somewhat warmly referred to, but Mr. HARRIS retorted that they were mainly for the benefit of the East and North.

There was danger that the proceedings would be marred by unpleasant allusions to past sectional troubles. At this juncture, Colonel PEYTON, of Virginia, who had served on General Lee's staff, and who is a grandson of Patrick Henry, got the floor, and in a speech worthy his eloquent grandfather, gave expression to sentiments of truly national patriotism, alluding to his oath of allegiance as a sacred vow. He was enthusiastically cheered. Several of the previous speakers disavowed any sectional sentiment, and the episode served to show the essential unity and broad nationality of the Convention.

Mr. SCAMMON introduced the following resolution, which was adopted by the Convention and duly forwarded to his Excellency, Governor Tilden, of New York:

Resolved—That the attention of the State of New York is called to the absolute necessity of cleaning and bottoming out the Erie Canal, to the maximum depth provided by law, and that improved lock-gates, now in common use elsewhere, be applied to the locks, to the end that its present capacity may be increased.

Resolved further—That the authorities of that State be and are hereby requested to take into consideration the enlargement of that Canal to a capacity that will admit the economical application of steam as a motive power.

The Chair then announced the following Standing Committees :

Railroads :—F. B. Thurber, N. Y. ; W. C. Flagg, Ill. ; J. Nelson Harris, Ky. ; Amasa Cobb, Neb. ; Peter Melindy, Iowa ; H. L. Goodwin, Conn. ; L. H. Stevens, Kan.

Artificial Water Routes :—Col. Lyman Bridges, Ill. ; Wm. W. Henry, Vt. ; C. S. Carrington, Va. ; Charles Watrous, N. Y. ; G. W. Smith, Ky. ; Hon. John Young, Canada ; J. H. Osborn, Wis.

Natural Water Routes :—Col. B. W. Frobél, Ga. ; D. C. Lindsley, Vt. ; Col. H. E. Peyton, Va. ; M. McIlhenny, Mo. ; J. F. Bullett, Ky. ; H. G. Anderson, Ill. ; John H. Kemp, N. Y.

Terminal Facilities :—R. H. Ferguson, N. Y. ; F. F. Mumford, Va. ; John J. Martin, Mo. ; John M. Pearson, Ill. ; Emmett L. Ross, Miss. ; E. R. Durkee, N. Y. ; Hon. John Young, Montreal, Canada.

The following Committees to visit Washington were appointed by the President :

Water Routes :—James M. Allen, Ill. ; B. W. Frobél, Ga. ; H. E. Peyton, Va. ; Ed. Russell, Iowa ; H. Merrion, Wis. ; Geo. A. Merwin, N. Y.

Railroads :—C. C. Sturtevant, Minn. ; J. K. Hornish, Iowa ; J. H. Osborn, Wis. ; W. C. Flagg, Ill. ; L. P. Milligan, Ind. ; A. B. Miller, N. Y. ; W. H. Wood, New Jersey.

The Chair then announced that the business of the Convention was over. He returned thanks to the Delegates for the honor of electing him the President of the American Board of Transportation and Commerce for the ensuing year, as well as for the intelligent attention given to the subject, which had engaged their time during the three-days session. He expressed the hope of being able to meet them at Louisville, next fall, to give still further impetus, to the cause of Cheap Transportation. The Convention then adjourned *sine die*.

Subsequent to the adjournment, and in accordance with the directions of the Convention, the Executive Committee appointed the following Committees:

NEW YORK—Hon. L. Bradford Prince, A. B. Miller, H. B. Claflin, George A. Merwin, Chas. Watrous, W. H. Wiley, Theo. F. Lees.

MASSACHUSETTS—Hon. Josiah Quincy, Herbert Radclyffe.

VERMONT—Lawrence Barnes, B. S. Nichols, R. S. Taft, of Burlington; E. P. Colton, Irasburgh; W. Y. W. Riply, Rutland.

ILLINOIS—E. B. Stevens, Wm. T. Baker, Wm. Bross, Josiah Stiles, P. W. Dater, J. A. Noonan and W. N. Brainard, Chicago; L. D. Whiting, Tiskilwa; S. P. Cummings, Fulton; G. W. Armstrong, LaSalle; James L. Camp, Dixon; Richard P. Morgan, Jr., Bloomington.

IOWA—Edward Russell, Davenport; Peter Melindy, Cedar Falls; J. L. McCreary, Dubuque; John Mahin, Muscatine; G. W. McCrary, Keokuk.

NEBRASKA—J. Sterling Morton, Nebraska City; Amasa Cobb, Lincoln; Geo. I. Gilbert, Omaha.

KANSAS—S. L. Shotwell, Eldora; Charles Robinson, Lawrence.

GEORGIA—Col. Frobels and W. E. Smith.

INDIANA—L. P. Millington and Isaac Odell.

MINNESOTA—C. C. Sturtevant, Minneapolis; Thomas Cantwell, Brainard.

WISCONSIN—J. H. Osborn and S. D. Carpenter.

VIRGINIA—Thos. T. Mumford, Edward Daniels and Col. Peyton.

MISSOURI—Hon. Nelson Cobb, Kansas City, and John J. Martin.

MISSISSIPPI—Emmett Ross and D. L. Phares.

OREGON—Major Joseph Teal, Portland; Hon. O. Humason Dalles; Dr. Patterson, Eugene City.

WASHINGTON TERRITORY—General J. W. Sprague, Tacoma; Hon. H. G. Struve, Olympia; Dr. Baker, Walla Walla.

The resolutions are somewhat obscure as to the number of persons to be appointed on these Committees, but the remarks made in the Convention warrant this interpretation: Two from each State, at large, and one from each Congressional District. The full lists are given so far as expedient. The resolutions provide for filling out the list, each Committee to complete itself.

That the duties of these gentlemen may be definitely understood, the following resolution is subjoined :

Resolved—1. That for the purpose of effecting a more perfect organization, an Executive Committee be appointed for each State, consisting of a number equal to the representation of said State in the Federal Congress.

2. That the said Executive Committees shall have power to appoint Sub-Committees in each Congressional District in their respective States.

3. That it shall be the duty of these several Committees to collect and disseminate such information in their several States and Districts as may aid in procuring proper legislation upon this all-important matter of Transportation, and that their efforts and aims shall be to procure for our people the cheapest means possible.

4. That it shall be the duty of the Sub-Committees to correspond with their Executive Committee of the State, and the State Executive Committee with the National Executive Committee of this body, so that there may be uniformity of purpose and action between the whole.

